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ABSTRACT

The booklet discusses various aspects of involvement by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in helping member nations integrate education with community and regional needs. Objectives are to help OECD member nations intensify and improve school community relationships, coordinate educational policy with other regional policies, and help countries respond to new demands and objectives in education. The document is presented in four chapters. Chapter I focuses on regional development strategies and the regional dimension of education policies. Stress is placed on regional problems which are common to most OECD countries, including making public institutions (including schools) easily accessible to all users, smoothing out disparities in wages and lifestyles between regions, and conserving cultural characteristics of regions and migrant populations. Chapter II concentrates on the role of education in regional development. Topics discussed include the relationship of education to employment and population migration, regional employment, vocational training structures, and the responsibility of the educational system for providing support for regional cultural development. Chapter III points out regional inequalities in education and identifies policies designed by various nations to reduce these disparities. Chapter IV recounts problems in educational planning which have been caused by the decentralization of education into regional control units. (DB)

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EDUCATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

GENERAL REPORT

VOLUME I

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PARIS 1979

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PREFACE

The relationships between education and economic and social development are at the centre of the preoccupations of the OECD activities in education under the work programme of its Education Committee. This approach is closely related to the current efforts made in Member countries to examine ways by which the education system can be made more responsive to the demands and needs of society and thus better fulfil its mission of contributing to change and to economic, social and cultural progress.

Increasingly, this approach is being applied to regional and local levels within overall national policies. The concern to integrate schools or higher education institutions better into the surrounding local or regional community, to intensify their reciprocal relationships or to better harmonize and co-ordinate educational policy at local and regional levels with other sectoral policies, responds to new demands and new objectives in education. It is against this background that the Education Committee agreed to include in its programme of work an investigation into the role played by education in regional development, a theme which is the subject of this report.

The growing interest in this theme is reflected in the importance that OECD Member countries attach to regional aspects of education policies. These policies are expressed, in particular, by the increase in the number of programmes and experiments in educational development which are set afoot on a regional basis. Such programmes reflect an increasingly marked concern for the reduction of regional disparities, the adaptation of educational programmes or courses to the varied needs and realities of the regions, and the decentralisation or deconcentration of decision-making powers.

The regional aspects of educational development, many and complex as they are, can be a subject of considerable reflexion and action, but their boundaries remain imprecise insofar as they are difficult to dissociate from educational problems arising at national, local and institutional levels. The regionalisation of education, in fact, involves a number of planning, decision-making and administrative bodies, sometimes pursuing scarcely compatible objectives and policies, and demanding considerable efforts of co-ordination between the central, regional and local levels.

The aims of the present report - fairly general since it provides merely an initial analysis of this theme - are essentially as follows:

i) to provide an analytical framework for considering the role of education in regional development and the specific functions that education assumes in the socio-geographical framework of the region;

ii) to make an initial assessment of the problems, trends, approaches and experiments in the regionalisation of education policies in Member countries;

iii) to discuss orientations in this field with a view to associating education more closely with regional policies and to increasing its role in regional development.

The report is based on materials made available to the Secretariat by the national authorities in individual Member countries and in particular, on a series of specific technical reports describing national policies and experiences in this area, a selection of which is published separately as Volume II.

This report is published under the responsibility of the Secretary-General.

INTRODUCTION

No claim to be exhaustive could be made concerning such a multi-faceted and wide-ranging subject. It was therefore decided to focus the present Report on an examination of three main problems, after having briefly referred in Chapter I to the development shown in regional development strategies and by regionalisation policies in education. These three problems relate to:

i) the functions of education at regional level and in particular its relationships with employment and population migrations (Chapter II);
ii) regional inequalities in education (Chapter III);
iii) the problems of planning and organisation raised by the regionalisation of education policies (Chapter IV).

A number of conclusions which could guide future thinking and discussion will be found at the end of the report.

Because of its very general nature and the overall approach which it seemed desirable to adopt in this first stage of the examination of these problems, the report will perhaps be of more interest to national officials at central level. However, regional officials will also find it possible to view their analyses, thinking and action, as well as specifically regional action by reference to very general trends or to types of regional situations observed in OECD Member countries. Examples are the various types of regional employment and training structures (Chapter II), the general development of regional disparities and policies designed to reduce them (Chapter III) or the development of mechanisms for power redistribution by deconcentration and decentralisation (Chapter IV). Their attention may be drawn to considerations of the constraints and obstacles to the regionalisation of policies, as well as to the difficulties experienced in some countries in reconciling national and regional educational policy objectives.

The Technical Reports, which are published separately in Volume II, have been drafted by national authorities or experts. They deal with more specific problems and experiences, often relating to particular regions, and are perhaps more familiar to regional officials and closer to their fields and actions. These Technical Reports will make it possible to move ahead and go deeper into the

general problems dealt with in the report which follows and to examine in more detail the political problems appropriate to specific regional situations.

Points of reference

The breadth of the field covered by this topic and the diversity of the questions or possible interpretations of the themes raised in this report call for a minimum of definition regarding the main points of reference and major subjects taken up in the report.

Regions are units resulting from a division of national territory along geographical, social, economic, administrative and/or political criteria. This notion therefore covers very different meanings according to different national contexts or approaches to the problem, but also according to the policy or planning purposes in mind. For the purposes of this report no attempt will be made to define a homogeneous regional framework; we will rather adopt the territorial divisions as they exist in Member countries, while at the same time specifying the criteria which led to their demarcation. Distinction will be made between the three concepts of region, zone and area, defined as units of analysis and units of action.

i) In its most usual form the region is most often the result of a politico-administrative demarcation and shows a degree of socio-historical homogeneity. Examples are the nine Austrian Länder, the 50 Spanish provinces, Italy's 20 regions, the 10 districts in Japan, France's 22 (planning) regions, etc. These regions are not easily comparable. They are of widely varying size, importance and population, and their political attributes are very different. They correspond sometimes to states in Federal countries and to simple administrative units in other cases.

ii) The existence of an identity of problems attributable to physical geographical circumstances (mountain zones), human circumstances (urban or rural zones), or economic conditions (depressed zones), has led to the demarcation of more homogeneous territorial sub-units for which more specific programmes and measures for development have been drawn up. The term zones thus refers to spaces which correspond either to sub-regions or to groups of administrative regions. The Tennessee or Appalachian zones in the United States, the mountain zones in Switzerland, the West Midlands in the United Kingdom or the French Massif Central are examples of such geographical zones which have

been dealt with in individual case studies presented in Technical Reports.(1)

iii) Finally, planning studies for the location of educational facilities and institutions and for preparing school maps, have sometimes led to a territorial and functional division into areas of recruitment or influence of each type of institution and of the distribution of various educational services. Thus there is a functional spatial hierarchy corresponding at the same time to administrative or geographical demarcations and to areas of influence. For instance, the area of influence of a primary school is a rural district (commune) or an urban district; for a secondary school it is a rural or urban administrative district; for a university it is a region; for a research centre or a more specialised educational establishment it is a region or a group of regions, etc. It will be noted that it is at the higher education level that the area of recruitment and influence comes closest to, though it does not necessarily coincide with, the region cited in (i). In Sweden and Finland (Technical Reports Nos. 8 and 9) the areas of recruitment of higher education institutions and their transformation during the phase of expansion and increasing density of the institutional network have been defined and analysed on the basis of an analysis of the geographical distribution of demand. In Italy school districts have been set up, constituting not only recruitment areas but also management units, especially units for collective participation in management (Technical Report No. 12, Chapter II).

These three divisions, which are also found in fields other than education, correspond to different aims or different measures and programmes, all of which however contribute to the pursuit of the general goal of regional development. The concept of regional development takes on different meanings according to the specific aims in view; it is only one of the levels(2) of overall development that can be defined in a very general way as the enhancement

1) The Annex to this report contains a list of technical reports which are published as Volume II.

2) In a formal sense, the following levels of development can be distinguished: individual (self-development), institution development, community development, rural and urban district development, regional, multi-regional and national development, etc ; within each of these levels one can identify various components - human, social, economic and technological components, natural components (physical environment and resources), political, educational and cultural components of development.

of the capacity of society to function over the long term for the well-being of all its members.

Education is one of the components of this development. The difficulty in separating the educational component from the other components (economic, social, cultural and political) and the regional level from the other levels (community, local, rural or urban, multi-regional) rules out a strict demarcation of the scope and place of education in regional development. The strong interdependence and proximity among these components and levels does not in fact make such a demarcation desirable; on the contrary, the concern to link education to its regional environment reinforces the need for an examination of these complex interdependencies.

The term "education" is used in this report in a very broad sense, encompassing adult education and training as well as basic, initial and subsequent education and training in its various formal and informal aspects. In fact, each level of schooling (and each category of institution) has its own particular area and immediate environment. While this report takes a fairly global approach, relations between pre-school and primary education and the local community will scarcely be touched upon.(1) This also applies in the case of very specific activities of higher education institutions within the community. Without ignoring the questions raised at these levels of education, this report will tend to give more weight to an analysis of the contribution that secondary education and general and vocational education of adults can bring to regional development.

1) They were examined in School and Community, OECD/CERI, Paris, 1975.

I

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND THE REGIONAL DIMENSION OF EDUCATION POLICIES

Regional problems are not new; they have come in the wake of agricultural specialisation, the growth of towns and the spread of trade and industrial activity. They became the object of mounting political preoccupation during the major economic boom of the last decade which accentuated regional disparities and imbalances. Changes caused by technical progress profoundly altered economic and social structures: the various phases of industrialisation, the extension and restructuring of services, the relative decline of activity in primary and secondary sectors and the centralisation of economic activities set in motion large movements of population from the countryside to the towns. The cumulative effect of these changes was the creation of strong inter- and intra-regional inequalities in employment and wages as well as in community services.

In an attempt to counter this trend towards inequality, most OECD Member countries adopted regional policies and set up appropriate planning machinery. Within the regional, national, or sometimes supra-national (EEC) framework, regional plans and programmes were drawn up with the aim of controlling spatial development, modifying the distribution of economic activity between regions and correcting geographical disparities in employment, wages and social conditions. The Working Party on Regional Policies of the OECD Industry Committee carried out a number of studies(1) describing and evaluating the policies of Member countries and examining their role, aims and difficulties, as well as assessing their evolution and results.(2) Member countries are, of course, faced with widely

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1) The Regional Factor in Economic Development, OECD, Paris, 1970.
Issues of Regional Policies, OECD, Paris, 1973.
Re-appraisal of Regional Policies in OECD Countries, OECD, Paris, 1974.
Regional Problems and Policies in OECD Countries, Vols. I and II, OECD, Paris, 1976, 1977.

2) However, as one of the studies mentions, "The Working Party has not so far carried out any examination of the part that educational change plays in the regional problem". Issues of Regional Policies op. cit., p. 61.

differing regional problems reflecting each country's particular economic, social and political situation. It is possible, however, within this spectrum of problems, to identify common trends and issues in the evolution of regional preoccupations, in the theoretical analyses of regional development(1) and in the strategies adopted for regional policy and planning.

DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL POLICIES

These preoccupations and strategies have developed rapidly over the last twenty years. Originally, regional problems were essentially limited to those arising from economic weakness. Regional development policies were aimed mainly at finding solutions to the specific problems caused by regional stagnation and notably at resolving the problem of real or hidden unemployment.

In a subsequent stage, regional policies had also to deal with the problems of those regions where traditional industries prevailed and in which development was blocked by bottlenecks of varying types. These bottlenecks might consist of a lack of diversification, or indeed hyper-specialisation in activities which, no matter what their production levels, saw their traditional markets narrowing. They could also be caused by insufficient renewal of the working population, thereby creating a state of permanent overemployment. This, for example, was notably the case in some parts of Wallonia, the Midlands and the North of France.

A third conception of regional policy aims at smoothing out disparities in wages and lifestyles between regions by utilising locally-available manpower, and thus depending less on manpower mobility as the main remedy for employment imbalances. This approach endeavours to ensure that individual regions are not condemned to stagnation or to seeing their human resources used to the profit of some more attractive or dynamic region. At national level this affirmation is transformed, for instance, into a policy of decentralisation in the case of over-concentrated regions and of a more balanced distribution of services, and hence of employment in this sector, which plays a dynamic role in job creation and social welfare. Many countries have adopted incentives or restrictive measures

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1) They have been the subject of a large number of studies by economists and geographers. Among the most important are:

- J. Friedman and W. Alonso, Regional Development and Planning, M.I.T. Press, 1964.
- J. Glasson, An Introduction to Regional Planning, Hutchinson, London, 1974.
- J.C. Perrin, Le développement régional, PUF, Paris, 1974.

to influence the location of these service activities, particularly in the public sector, as shown, for example, by the action taken to decentralise government services in the United Kingdom.

This social dimension has widened the narrow economic perspective which is still largely used when drawing up regional plans or programmes. The existence or aggravation of social disparities, created or nourished by economic inequalities between regions - for instance as regards collective services and the quality of life - is increasingly regarded as unacceptable. Regional policies no longer attempt merely to encourage geographical balance. They also see to it that the lifestyle brought about by the creation of new towns, new industrial centres, large communications networks, etc., is acceptable to the population and does not adversely affect the environment and the quality of life generally. Policies are concerned also with the important social consequences of employment and unemployment and shifts in regional population, in particular for disadvantaged groups (young people, women, etc.). Traditional solutions to underemployment or unemployment in rural areas, such as the creation of new industries or migration, are being reconsidered. Their social and psychological effects are increasingly taken into account, particularly under the pressure of growing awareness of and resistance to the effects of such solutions on the population, e.g. rural depopulation or urban life.

These social effects are further reinforced by the trend in certain regions (particularly those with ethnic minorities, or those badly affected by rural depopulation) to renew or reaffirm their cultural identities. Most planners would now agree that regional economic development must be encouraged without adversely affecting essential regional characteristics or cultural traditions, and that it is necessary to take steps to conserve the original cultural characteristics of the regions or of migrant populations. Finally, the evolution of regional development policies in many Member countries has revealed a relatively new trend, namely a closer concern for problems related to administrative and political organisation at the regional level. Among the questions which are considered under this area are those concerned with the structure of regional power, regional autonomy or administrative decentralisation.

The economic recession has apparently not modified this conception of development and of regional policies, although the order of priority has changed as a result and employment issues have come to the foreground. The decline in productive activity has often affected the industrial regions more seriously. There has been a reduction in the transfer of activities to disadvantaged areas and in the mobility of manpower, and the differences between the prosperous and more backward regions have therefore changed. Governments have

attempted to concentrate their action on the most seriously affected areas and have sometimes been prompted to favour sectoral and structural rather than regional measures. Furthermore, increased employment policy initiatives, frequently at regional and local level, have had a major impact on training and education.

Despite the progress made, strong regional disparities continue to exist and no country has been able to meet the policy objectives that had been set. A critical evaluation has shed light on the difficulties facing governments in the elaboration and application of these policies.(1) Regional aims are often subjected to the more imperative needs of national policy and are rarely integrated into strategies for the economic, social and political development of the regions.

EDUCATION AND REGIONAL POLICY

Education occupies a comparatively small place in regional policy (or regional planning) and its involvement is frequently a recent feature. Its functions, however, tend to change and broaden as concepts develop and the scope of the policies is extended. In most cases only technical and vocational courses are envisaged for training or retraining the skilled manpower required to make use of the capital equipment and infrastructure that will promote the growth of industrial production in backward regions; as stated by the authors of the United Kingdom case study: "The extent to which they (regional development policies) incorporate considerations of education is largely dependent upon the mechanisms through which long-range regional economic objectives can be translated into educational terms" (Technical Report No. 6, Chapter IV).

The rise in demand, however, has led regional policy-makers to consider education as an important service sector to be provided regardless of manpower needs through a network of public institutions easily accessible to all users. The development of these services has helped to change the skill structure of regional labour supply and to establish new equilibria either by stimulating job creation or by encouraging mobility. More recently, in a few cases, regional policies have attempted to introduce considerations of the social and cultural effects and dimensions of education. A number of experiments conducted in Member countries and described in the Technical Reports show the various ways in which education has been taken into consideration in regional policy.

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1) Re-appraisal of Regional Policies, op. cit., Chapter IX.

Education in the development programmes of specific zones

Public policies for stimulating or converting production are traditionally aimed at zones which are stagnating, depressed, backward or "in difficulty". The Tennessee Valley programme (Technical Report No. 1) is the oldest example of such policies. The exploitation of physical resources, notably water, land and energy, was the principal objective and led those responsible to put the accent in the development of human resources on specific fields (training of farmers, craft and industrial apprenticeship, etc.) through informal channels, parallel to the education system. The programme in the Appalachian Mountains, started in 1964, is another example. The exploitation of little-used human resources was one of its principal objectives, achieved by setting up schools, by improving deficiencies in basic education and, above all, by developing professional training parallel with the creation of jobs (Technical Report No. 5).

Industrial redevelopment zones were the object of similar programmes, as in the case of Scotland, Wales and Northern England. The local authorities and the Departments of Education and Employment, among other incentives, developed or financed training and retraining activities for skilled workers and technicians with a view to attracting industries to the depressed areas (Technical Report No. 6).

In other countries, action of this type was taken in the depopulated mountain areas. In Switzerland integrated development programmes were developed by the communities themselves under the impetus of investment aid programmes by the Federal Government. They were able - in the three areas studied - to redefine educational objectives in relation to regional characteristics and exigencies, to plan the development of demand and to draw up measures for improving school buildings and equipment, structures and programmes of study (Technical Report No. 4). In France, an overall development programme for the Massif Central region is being carried out with the main objectives of improving the utilisation of resources and ameliorating communications and living conditions. With regard to education itself, the action aims at improving the school network, facilitating school attendance and accessibility, adapting teaching methods and improving the situation of teachers (Technical Report No. 3).

Education in regional and urban development programmes

The deconcentration of cities and the development of new areas have led to the adoption of policies creating urban poles or urban networks. In education - as in other services - it was first necessary to set up a service and facilities network. Its development, however, served also as a focal point for the inhabitants and firms

and played an important role in the life of the developing urban or regional community. An impressive example is the case study on the Albury-Wodonga region in Australia. The creation of a new town of 300,000 inhabitants and the development of its zone of influence induced planners to define the role of education in individual, community and regional development and to design a network of education institutions and services to meet the population's requirements (Technical Report No. 2). In the United Kingdom the industrial dynamism of Coventry's metropolitan area created a demand for skilled workers which led the local authorities to plan the development of the necessary education and training services to respond to this demand (Technical Report No. 6, Chapter III).

Education in the regionalisation of national policy and planning measures

A number of the economic and social aims of national planning policy are prepared and, above all, carried out at regional level, mostly within a co-ordinated perspective. The author of a study on Bavaria has shown that the objectives formulated by the Federal Government on the equality of social opportunity and the unification of lifestyles, have led the Land authorities to instigate plans for the distribution of educational infrastructures and opportunities of access in the 18 urban and rural districts, and to undertake many studies for this purpose.(1)

The search for greater equilibrium between education and employment has, in some countries, guided formulation of educational plans. This has posed problems, because, based as it is on overall employment forecasts, this approach implies, if not an assumption of an undifferentiated supply of qualifications, at least an unrealistic idea of geographical and professional mobility. At the regional level, however, this obstacle has been partially removed. Programmes for the establishment of service activities, or retraining for jobs more suited to changing industrial patterns, have given a better perception of training requirements in educational planning. In France, for instance, the adjustment between the production and education systems, desired by planners, has led them to examine the balances and interactions between training and employment, at the regional and inter-regional levels; to face up to recruiting requirements and those of school leavers; to evaluate the effects of migration. The means have been created for carrying out research and forecasting and analysing the quantitative and qualitative relations

1) R. Ritter, "Problems, Methods and Results of Regional Educational Research and Educational Planning in Bavaria", OECD, 1977 (mimeograph).

between these two sectors. The results of this work should be of interest to workers and employers as well as those responsible for education and training policies (Technical Report No. 7). In a number of countries high unemployment rates and growing employment problems particular to some regions have led planners to regionalise and decentralise the vocational training and retraining programmes which had previously been adopted within the framework of an active manpower policy.

REGIONALISATION OF EDUCATION POLICIES

The overall regional policies outlined above have been drawn up by "horizontal" administrations (departments responsible for regional questions) or by the appropriate regional bodies, such as the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States and the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation in Australia. Educational planners have themselves independently introduced specific regionalisation procedures with a view to achieving a number of objectives or policy measures. The aims of these arrangements, which will be discussed at length later, are not new. Until recently they were not accorded primary consideration except in a few countries; they often merely set out to clarify certain specific aspects of national policy, as, for example, the siting of educational establishments or the extent of regional disparities in educational participation. Over the past few years there has been an increased tendency in Member countries to analyse and place education in its intra- and inter-regional context. The socio-geographic context, and in particular the "region", is coming to occupy a central place in the formulation and, above all, in the implementation of policy measures as regards education as well as in the other spheres of public action.

This trend, which takes different forms in different countries, can be attributed both to the rapid development of the educational sector itself and to the extension of the scope of educational policies, and regional policies, for instance:

i) the considerable expansion of education and of the costs incurred by central administration has brought about (particularly in centralised countries) concentration of decision-making activities and powers and congestion of central services. The gap between the users and the decision-makers has widened. This situation had led to increased concern that administrative concentration should be weakened and for greater decentralisation towards

smaller territorial units such as the regions. In more decentralised countries the region tends to be seen as providing an appropriate framework for the co-ordination and overseeing of dispersed local decisions and a focal point for co-operation between central, federal and local authorities;

ii) the growing concern for opening up education to the local and regional community, and bring about greater integration of educational institutions in their social, economic and cultural environment, has encouraged increased efforts to adapt educational content and develop educational provisions and services so that they conform to realities and needs at both the regional and local level. The regional approach thus offers a more differentiated view of educational needs, likely to adapt and adjust policy measures agreed at national level more effectively;

iii) the reinforcement of policies directed at providing equal access to community services has highlighted the growing unacceptability of the continuing regional disparities in education. It has focussed attention on a re-examination of policies for the location of educational facilities and the geographical distribution of resources, on the introduction of specific measures or programmes for underprivileged zones or groups, and in a general way brought about a better understanding of the way in which global decisions reflect very varied geographical realities. For instance, Technical Report No. 3, on France, shows how the gradual awakening to the problems of regional disparities has recently led to a recognition of the need for regional development and for thought to be given to how education can contribute to regional development policies. This is in contrast to an earlier phase when the centralised organisation of education made it difficult to achieve independent and differentiated participation in regional development;

iv) the region represents a more appropriate planning and administrative framework than the nation, to the extent that, compared to the nation as a whole, not only is it smaller in size, but its socio-economic characteristics are more marked (though not necessarily more homogeneous), its cultural traditions are more uniform, and the administrative system is less complex and more easily adaptable. In addition, the region seems to be a more favoured, or at least more appropriate, level than the central or local ones for the integration of measures taken in the various

social sectors, the participation of representatives of social and professional groups and interests, the co-ordination of public and private activities, and for adjusting and adapting educational supply to the economic and cultural requirements of the local environment;

v) radical changes in the economic continuum have affected the needs, the way of life and problems of whole populations. They have led to an affirmation of each region's individual characteristics. This development is not unconnected - in some Member countries, at least - with an increased affirmation of a sense of identity or regional sensitivity in the political, economic and cultural spheres, particularly strong in regions with ethnic minorities. These are questions which give rise to political controversy and conflicts of interest between the central and regional authorities and become subjects of major national debates, such as that concerning the devolution of power in the United Kingdom.

The trend towards regionalisation of education, however, comes up against a variety of obstacles and opposition, among which the following can be noted:

- the confusion created by the large number of criteria used to delimit regions and the absence in some countries of a precise definition of the concepts of "region" and "regionalism". In the first part of Technical Report No. 1 on the Tennessee Valley in the United States, the author notes that in spite of the sharp interest shown in this subject over the last forty years no clear concept of regionalism has appeared, and such ideas have not had the influence that might have been expected, possibly because of the central role played by the states in the American federal system;
- the permanent nature in some countries of a strong, time-honoured administrative centralisation, as well as the existence of intra-regional units, such as the French 'départements', 'counties' or districts; or resistance in decentralised countries of autonomous local collectivities which fear losing some of their characteristics or having them transferred to a regional level. In decentralised countries, another obstacle - referred to in Report No. 6 on the United Kingdom, is the absence of any correspondence in administrative structures or levels and fields of responsibility and interest: regional planning is worked out at central and regional level, whereas education is a matter for local authorities;

- the unitary and egalitarian nature of education which tends to maintain national standards (e.g. for diplomas), and whose services are a hindrance to a more advanced regionalisation of curricula;
- the fear that regional movements or trends may threaten the unity of nations or encourage the setting up of "counter-cultures" hostile to the national culture;
- the faith placed by many officials in the mobility of the working force as a means of "natural" adjustment between education and employment at regional level, thus obviating the need for special study of the regional education/employment relationship;
- finally, regionalisation is hindered by the emergence at regional level of interests that are just as much in conflict as at the national level, the existence of very heterogeneous socio-economic or cultural characteristics among the population and the fast rate of change in the school population at regional level, leading to sudden discrepancies between changing needs and available resources.

To sum up, the accentuation of geographical imbalances has led Member countries to adopt increasingly ambitious regional policies. The persistence of inequalities and the frailty of results have reinforced the use of integrated development strategies which include not only economic, but also socio-cultural aspects. Education appears, in this context, to merit an increasingly important place, while continuing to comply with widely different approaches and strategies aimed at similar objectives:

i) strategies concerning the regionalisation of education policies conceived by those responsible for this sector differ from those concerning the regional development of education, which are intended for overall regional policies or regional programmes for specific areas with particular problems. In this latter case, education constitutes one of the components of the programmes calling for a high degree of inter-sectoral co-ordination;

ii) a distinction can also be made between:

- regional strategies worked out at national level on the basis of the overall objectives laid down by the central government;
- "internal or autonomous" regional strategies worked out at regional level by authorities, institutions and regional groups independent of any overall national strategy.

The choice between these two strategies will, presumably, depend on the distribution of power and decision-making between national and regional authorities - i.e. the political and administrative organisational structure - centralised countries favouring the former and federal countries the latter. As far as education is concerned, strategies may vary according to level of education, higher education falling within the former and secondary and adult education within the latter.

Despite their diversity, it appears that over and above the global objective of regional development, these strategies have a limited number of specific objectives, notably:

- to organise the distribution of resources according to the needs of each region (or zone) while at the same time reducing the disparities between them, or equalising opportunities or geographical accessibility to education services;
- to adapt education as far as possible to the economic and cultural needs of each region and to gear educational institutions to regional realities;
- to modify the decision-making structures so as to accommodate increased participation at regional level (for instance, by means of deconcentration or decentralisation measures).

In actual practice, education has only recently figured in regional development policies and its importance varies from country to country. The programmes described in the Technical Reports (Volume II) are, for the most part, still at the research or experimental stage which makes the evaluation of results extremely difficult. They do, however, make possible a comparison between the characteristics and socio-economic needs of a region and the production of education services, and facilitate their adaptation. It is, however, rare that educational policies really find a place in an integrated regional development plan co-ordinating all the activities to achieve precise objectives. This situation is explained by the incomplete nature of regional policies as well as by the pre-eminence of national priorities, but is also a result of insufficient thought about the contribution which education can make to the various aspects of regional development.

II

EDUCATION AND ITS ROLE IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Although education is an important component of regional development, its precise effects at this level are difficult to identify since it is not possible to dissociate them from the effects education has on the development of the individual or the nation as a whole. Regions are "open" spaces between which there is free circulation of people, resources and ideas which it is neither possible nor desirable to control. For all this, educational services and institutions do have specific effects at regional level, brought about by special socio-economic mechanisms. Appropriate policy measures can influence these effects and make them adjust to the exigencies of the regional environment and also to those, not always compatible, of the nation. Conversely, the regional environment affects the structures and functioning of educational institutions.

An attempt will be made to clarify these interdependencies by separating the following (somewhat arbitrarily in order to make the argument clearer):

- the role of education in regional economic development, showing the nature of its relationship with employment at this level and its effects on population migration; and
- the contribution that education can make to regional social and cultural development.

EDUCATION AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The role of education services in the regional economy falls into two categories. First, these services provide qualifications of different levels for individuals who will (or may not) enter the regional labour market. This will change the qualification structure of manpower supply which may or may not correspond to the demands of this market, thus having an influence on migration and on the adjustment mechanisms. Second, education is expected to produce and broadcast the knowledge necessary to the economy or likely to affect its productivity; it absorbs regional resources, both

public and private, which will be consumed within the region in the form of purchases of goods or services; it creates jobs for teachers, has a multiplier effect on revenue, influences the flow of human and capital resources (amenity effects) and has far-reaching external effects.(1)

Consideration of these relationships within the present conception of regional policies shows that one of the objectives of education, alongside its intrinsic cultural role, is to prepare individuals for a job which corresponds to their knowledge and capabilities and enables them to earn the income which is essential for their personal development. It is this joint dimension which underlies the notion of "qualification" rather than the idea of what is sometimes loosely termed as "meeting the needs of the economy". The vocational aims of education cannot therefore be considered as being determined by the economic structures of the region. Also, since these structures are never flexible enough to adapt to a given amount of education, it follows that regional development policies must seek to reconcile educational policy in its multi-dimensional form and industrial policy.

The relationships between education and employment at regional level

To facilitate a close appreciation of these relationships, different regional situations having a bearing on both employment and education will be considered, using criteria which are as general as possible. In so doing, specific definitions of a "region" will be avoided, since the concept is analytically indeterminable and likely to lead to false comparisons, particularly at the international level: for instance, Germany's poorest regions are as prosperous as Ireland's and Italy's richest.(2) Similarly, no presuppositions will be made about the type of education which should be developed at regional level. In this respect, the proposed typology will disregard the controversies concerning the respective merits, from the employment viewpoint, of general as opposed to vocational education. The intention is to suggest a framework for thought within which it will be possible to examine the variety of situations prevailing in Member countries. Of the many concepts in regional economic science, attention will be paid to two descriptive criteria (in their dynamic sense) - job opportunities and the stock of qualifications, and two decision criteria - population density and distance.

1) B.M. Hudson, "Regional Economic Effects of Higher Education Institutions", Socio-economic Planning, V and VIII, 1974, p. 181.

2) "Closing the Gap", The Economist, 25th January, 1977.

Job opportunities

Job opportunities are made up not only by job supply on regional markets, but also by those that may be created by development policies. Existing regional activity is, in fact, the result of historical situations, based initially on the physical geography of the region, but also on peoples' initiative, and subsequently on the concentration effect of external economies. This latter element may have prevailed in certain urban conurbations, in which the administrative and political functions have become the principal raison d'être and which provided propitious ground for the growth of the service sector. Other regions are characterised by more or less diversified industrial activity, also generally favourable to the tertiary sector. In rural or sparsely-populated zones, however, the situation is often different and, apart from the ad hoc implantation of industry, which has a relatively limited effect on job creation, it is by the expansion of the social and tertiary sectors that regional development will be best served. The Commission on Employment in Sweden recently reached a similar conclusion, namely that in order to achieve the desired additional jobs one must continue to expand the public sector rapidly and create almost the same number of additional jobs in all regions. The expansion of the public sector, however, is not necessarily a panacea to be applied indifferently in any region of any country. In a number of countries publicly-controlled administrative and social services are already well-established in the regions. In such situations, a solution would have to be sought in the direction of craft-type activities of a private nature or of small or medium-sized firms providing services to meet an unsatisfied, or, often, potential demand.

The recent decline in production in regions with structurally weak traditional industries has increased their unemployment levels and widened the already considerable range of regional unemployment levels (Table 1). This has encouraged public authorities to boost job creation in these regions by means of financial aid and other incentives.

The stock of qualifications

Each region possesses a stock of qualifications accumulated during its historical and social development. The size of this stock depends on the development of existing training capacities and regional demand, but also on the degree of inter-regional migration. The cultural traditions and socio-professional structures of the population and its environment (urban, rural) influence the structure and level of qualifications. In recent decentralisation policies, and quite apart from the objective of greater equality in

the distribution of educational opportunity, emphasis is often laid on the importance of a population's general educational level in encouraging innovation and regional development. Alongside this general aspect it is also recognised that the structures of post-compulsory education, and in particular the amount of vocational education (generally set up to meet the needs of the specific regional labour market), are decisive elements in building up this stock of qualifications. Vocational education can contribute substantially - the degree varies from country to country - to the accumulation of qualifications and their maintenance (by individual retraining). Although the role of the stock of qualifications is not a recent concern in regional development policy, current thinking is now tending more towards linking it with the training system than towards a migratory approach. Thus, in Italy, in the formulation of a regional development policy for the Friuli-Venezia Giulia area, special attention is paid to the description of the vocational training system and recent trends in the flow of qualified personnel in relation to the job opportunities and economic structure of this region.(1) The existence of a stock of qualifications suitable for the job opportunities created by the development of regional structures is an element which is coming to the fore in the present efforts to combat unemployment.

Table 1

REGIONAL INCIDENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

	Reference Period	Range of Regional Unemployment Rates	National Average	Number of Regions
Australia	1975 November	4.1 - 5.2	4.6	6
Canada	1974 average	2.8 - 9.7	5.4	5
France	1974 March	1.1 - 3.9	2.8	8
Germany	1974 average	1.4 - 3.1	2.6	9
Sweden	1974 average	1.5 - 3.7	2.0	8
United Kingdom	1975 March	2.2 - 6.7	3.5	11
United States	1972 average	3.9 - 7.7	5.6	9

Source: Ministers of Labour and the Problems of Employment Vol. I, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 117.

Population density

Population density is a phenomenon which stems initially from human geography, but which has adjusted itself to the two descriptive

1) A. Danieli, "Vocational Studies in Friuli-Venezia Giulia", OECD, 1977, mimeographed document.

criteria referred to above, principally the first. The existence or absence of job opportunities has a direct effect on population movements. However, as is generally known, a mis-match between levels of education and job opportunities can have a scattering effect on the more highly qualified members of the population. Population density also coincides to a great extent with certain types of production structures for goods and services, a function of which is also the presence and volume of social services, especially education and training. At the decision-making level the use of this criterion is an important element in the appreciation of the opportunity cost of economic as well as social service activities, including education.

Distance

Distance - already mentioned in the discussion on access to education services - is a second decision criterion, closely linked to the preceding one. It is expressed in terms of geographical configurations and communications facilities. Here again, however, the social dimension can introduce a corrective element to the calculation of opportunity costs. The lack of propensity of individuals to move or the irksomeness and inconvenience attached to such moves, may justify some increase in the number of plants and factories, sometimes beyond what may appear economically rational. Thus, it is being increasingly recognised in many countries that the distance between home and work should not, in principle, exceed certain time and space limits and that distance from work is becoming a major consideration in the quality of working life. The necessity for economies of scale provides here a useful guide in the choice of activities to be set up within regional structures. This is also a determining criterion in the siting of schools.

Regional employment and training structures

Keeping development objectives in mind, the application of the above criteria leads to distinguishing three main types of regional situation by juxtaposing the stock and flow of qualifications and job opportunities. Three situations arise:

- when there is a lack of qualifications in relation to job opportunities;
- when well-educated members of a population are unable to find jobs which correspond to their aspirations;
- when there is, concomitantly, inadequacy of job opportunities and in the level of education and qualifications.

Of course, these three types of situation defined on the basis of the two criteria already referred to, are not meant to describe

a type of region. There are numerous possible types of region depending on the many other criteria that can be put forward. Neither do these three types of situation correspond to three contrasting types of region. Different situations can coexist within one and the same region either at geographical or sectoral level, according to the nature and level of qualifications, the labour force cohorts and the greater or lesser propensity to vocational mobility. Thus in the Permian Basin (Texas, United States), the petroleum and chemical industry is characterised by the presence of well-qualified personnel who leave if a decline in this sector reduces job prospects, whereas manpower in the manufacturing industries is relatively under-qualified and unable to adapt to new job opportunities.(1) In the West of Brittany (France) amongst those who leave the region there is a large number who do so because they are unable to find jobs corresponding to their qualifications. In this region it is also noticeable that although enrolment rates for 15-16-year-olds are higher than the national average, manpower actually in employment is largely under-qualified, which acts as an obstacle to industrialisation and consequent new job opportunities. Such examples show the necessity to go beyond global analyses of regions and take into account the internal diversity of their economic, sociological and educational structures which should be reflected in selective policy measures.

Situations where there is a shortage of qualifications in relation to job opportunities

Such a shortage can have different causes: over-employment linked to demographic factors, low levels of education, or imbalances caused by inefficient planning of training flows. Over-employment is present in regions with mainly traditional industries where natural population renewal is unable to match the level of economic activity and must rely on immigration. Highly-qualified personnel can generally be attracted to these regions by high salaries while jobs requiring low or no qualifications are usually filled by immigrant workers, with all the social and cultural consequences that this implies. Migration can only with difficulty compensate for a shortage of personnel with intermediate-level qualifications. Quite apart from the unemployment which can result from economic depression in regions with high over-employment, other imbalances can be present which cause unemployment among those leaving certain levels of the education system.

Inadequate educational levels are evident in under-industrialised or under-diversified regions, where education rarely goes beyond the

1) Manpower and vocational educational planning processes: Four regional case-studies, Report No. 9 of the Policy Research Project, University of Texas, Austin, 1975, pp. 34-35.

compulsory level. For example, in the Middle Rio Grande and South Texas regions of the United States it is agreed that jobs would be available if the population were more qualified, whereas, at present, over one half of the inhabitants have not completed more than the first cycle secondary level.(1) Another example concerns the West Midlands in the United Kingdom. This region is one of ten economic planning regions and is the responsibility of one of the Regional Economic Planning Councils set up in 1965. Being a developing region which attracts population and is well-provided with growth industries it does not benefit from the financial incentives intended for regulating migratory movements and for encouraging apprenticeship and adult training. The bottleneck in this region, however, is that the population is insufficiently qualified for the specific jobs available, not only for technical jobs but also, for instance, managerial jobs for which there is a shortage of properly qualified staff (Technical Report No. 6).(2) Similarly, in the Tre Valli region of the Swiss canton of Tessin, where extensive industrial development has taken place, providing many skilled job opportunities, the jobs had to be filled by unskilled foreign immigrants to whom the education system, moreover, offered no suitable training facilities (Technical Report No. 4). Such discrepancies are frequently a basic factor in regional under-development, as exemplified in Australia, where the Examiners of the OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee noted in 1974 that secondary education did not prepare students for careers at levels below those for which it was necessary go to a university or a higher education institution.(3)

Inefficient planning of training flows is the result of various phenomena. It is linked first of all to the strong demand for types of education carrying high social prestige but with job outlets which are limited from the outset or which become quickly overfilled. The author of Technical Report No. 9 notes that educational needs and educational demand in Finland did not develop in step with each other and that social structures may prevent educational demand from meeting skill requirements, while the value attached to certain types of education may cause demand to exceed requirements. Such an imbalance may not only make the impact of regional decentralisation measures uncertain but may even lead to some strange effects. Thus, in the study on the regional effects of educational planning in Sweden (Technical Report No. 8), the authors note that the excessive output of graduates in the 1970s makes it extremely difficult to

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1) Manpower and Vocational education planning processes: Four Regional Case Studies, op. cit., p. 20.

2) The Coventry Report, Report of the Steering Group of the Coventry Manpower Services Project, London, December 1977.

3) Manpower Policy in Australia, OECD, Paris, 1976.

assess the effects of educational decentralisation on regional labour markets. Another report (No. 12) on the Regionalisation of Education in Italy concludes that, generally speaking, the setting up of regional educational networks had only a minor impact since it did not correspond to an additional demand for training, because the quantitative level attained was already greater than the needs, although, adds the author, frequently at the expense of quality. But the inefficient planning of training flows may, as a corollary to the above phenomenon, also be due to the unattractiveness of some jobs requiring different types of qualification. This unattractiveness may be psychological or may be related to wage scales. It is a very common phenomenon, analysed for instance in the Swiss Technical Report No. 4. When this qualitative inadequacy affects higher training levels it generally leads to unemployment of graduates from certain overcrowded fields of study, since, at this level downgrading is rarely observed. At lower levels of education there is more occupational mobility, but this can be to the detriment of productivity or job satisfaction. This situation explains the frequent coincident occurrence of unsatisfied supply and demand on the same labour market and is also evident in regions where there is general over-employment.

A solution to the first type of situation is sought through measures which encourage obtaining higher qualifications: revised salary scales, improvement in working conditions and in vocational training and adult education programmes. On the assumption of job opportunities being met by a lack of qualifications, the optimum development policy must be the creation of the requisite qualifications to meet the supply potential of industrial policy. Policies aimed at making non-skilled or semi-skilled jobs more attractive, which is one aspect of social policy, would need, in this case, to be so formulated as not to discourage the attainment of intermediate-level qualifications, which is often where the bottlenecks lie, and should be closely linked to policies to improve job satisfaction.

The case study on the Appalachians gives an interesting illustration of a situation of this type and of an active training policy. A diagnosis made in 1966 established that the region could not satisfy the job opportunities created by its increased attractiveness due to insufficient qualifications within its population. The authorities therefore gave priority to specialised training programmes rather than basic education, in order to provide the labour force, and especially young people, with marketable qualifications. In 1973 a first evaluation of this policy showed an increase in employment comparable to the national average and an increase of 89 per cent in per capita income. Due to the restriction in resources, a second stage, begun in 1973, put greater accent on the vocational aims of education in relation to the needs of the

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regional community. This was combined with improved civic education in an attempt to fill in gaps in the school system. The integration of various forms of education (general and vocational, child and adult) was encouraged in order to use the present structures to meet a diversified demand determined on the basis of the real needs and motivations of the population and excluding all forms of prescriptive uniformity. The accent thus is more on preparation for the whole of working life (career education) and goes beyond technical training for specific jobs. In 1972 a longitudinal study on the results of this regional experiment showed the efficacity of the policies adopted by the local authorities: 92 per cent of graduates had found jobs suited to their qualifications, 80 per cent considered their diplomas necessary or useful in the exercise of their job, 76 per cent considered that their schooling was adequate and only 11 per cent needed further training (Technical Report No. 5).

Situations where well-educated members of the population are unable to find jobs which correspond to their aspirations

This situation is common mainly in urban regions or those with traditional industries, where a high standard of living has led to high levels of qualification. It has, however, also spread to less developed regions, due to the democratisation of education. In this context it is noted that the number of school leavers is higher than the renewal capacity of the work force, the more so as these regions suffer by definition from gaps in their economic activity structure. This is exemplified in the Swiss Tre Valli region where there is apparently a fairly good balance between the primary and secondary sectors but where the tertiary sector is found to be weak, leading to daily commuting of almost 5.5 per cent of the active population from their own region to work in public and other services such as shops and banks (Technical Report No. 4). This imbalance exists in certain cases, even in relation to professional education. A French study of young people in the Languedoc-Roussillon region, having a level of education equivalent to the proficiency certificate in general mechanics, has shown that 63 per cent of those who are working were able to find jobs within the region, but 42 per cent of these were working in jobs outside their field (Technical Report No. 7). Such training does, however, appear to meet fairly common, but largely unsatisfied social needs. It is in general education that imbalances are most frequent and extensive. Since the economic boom of the 1960s in industrialised countries, the expansion of general education has not been accompanied by the creation of the jobs necessary to absorb the flow of school leavers. Furthermore, the disillusionment of the educated younger generation with certain jobs

has brought about the gradual decline of such trades and the disappearance from the labour market of a number of job opportunities in almost all regions of every country. This trend has already been seen to be one particular aspect of the case already cited. It is so widespread and so typical of the present youth unemployment situation that there is no need to quote further examples. Its main effects are graduate unemployment and sharp downward mobility because migration does not appear to provide solutions to such a general problem.

In this situation, therefore, regional development seems to flow almost wholly from the creation of new jobs linked with a degree of qualitative retraining effort. When the problem is such that it visibly contributes to stagnation or regional decline the macro-economic investment decisions which are supposed to generate new jobs have little effect and appear to be unable to resolve the qualitative imbalances which are characteristic of such a situation. The point of departure should rather be the perception, according to their type, of jobs to be created in relation to the regional stock of qualifications. Given these socio-economic conditions, industrial policy will largely take two forms. Sometimes it will introduce advanced technological activities - a difficult task since in this area competition is on a world-wide scale. More often, it will attempt to widen the range of productive and social services in the region by encouraging the growth of small businesses, local administrative offices and service organisations. The most rapid and efficient result can be gained by encouraging recruitment within existing firms of this kind, by the use of selective incentives.

Situations where there are both shortages in job opportunities and inadequate education levels

This is the situation in under-developed or declining regions where stagnation and a lowering of living standards are common and where the working population has lost much of its former value due, largely, to the emigration of its most educated and qualified members. Ireland, the North of England and Southern Italy are representative examples.

Almost all the problems found in the preceding situations are combined here and the possibilities of regional recovery starting depend on so many sociological and economic factors that policies will have only limited effects unless considerable sums are invested in these regions - which most countries are unable to do. In fact, it generally means starting again from scratch. In declining regions, retraining activities can only have a minimal effect. In under-developed regions any industrial development must be preceded

by the installation of social services and an influx of externally trained technicians. In the Appalachians, the region's attractiveness seems to have contributed favourably to, and even been a necessary condition of, regional policy. In this situation, the perception of polarising activities seems to be the primum movens; they should be looked for above all in the service sectors which have their place everywhere. Lack of qualifications is not necessarily the cause of regional stagnation at the outset, but once regional development policies are instigated the rate of output of qualified people would need to be carefully planned so as to avoid compromising the success of development policies.

Influence exerted by educational structures

The last-mentioned point about the qualification output rate or, in other words, the organisation of the training network, refers back to the more general problem of educational structures seen from the standpoint of their influence on the location of economic activities, quite apart from their socio-cultural role. This, moreover, is one of the basic arguments for the decentralisation of education, although planners' thinking seems to be changing somewhat on this matter, as may be seen clearly in the Norwegian study. In May 1976 a Royal Commission stated that additional education increases the "political" resources of individuals and groups, i.e. resources which can change existing conditions. Applied to regional policy, this reasoning amounts to considering all additional education as a means of positively predetermining development conditions. Subsequently, another Royal Commission, whose report had not yet been submitted when the case study was produced seemed inclined to conclude that education may have an unfavourable effect in view of the greater propensity of educated people to emigrate, and it was inferred that new jobs should therefore be created prior to the establishment of educational facilities (Technical Report No. 10). It would seem, however, that this conclusion should be qualified by the fact that a good school network, particularly of middle and secondary schools, is one of the requirements for regions to appear attractive, since middle and senior management executives demand educational training facilities of this kind for their children. It is this argument, compared with the previous one, which led the author of a study on Bavaria to conclude that the increase in the number of schools and the development of the economic structure should go hand in hand.(1) It may be added that a comparison of these various criteria should also lead to considerable flexibility

1) R. Ritter, "Problems, Methods and Results of Regional Educational Research and Educational Planning in Bavaria", op. cit.

of the basic educational networks to adapt to the extent and nature of regional development as well as the need to organise efficient networks for adult education.

Education and population movements

On regional job markets or in job reservoirs, various types of adjustments may come into play, such as changes in active working rates (e.g. of women), in induction rates (e.g. by creating jobs in the service sector), variations in unemployment rates or variations in migration levels, including rural exodus.

The extent of inter-regional migration varies from region to region and is closely linked not only to the structures of the regional economy, but also to available manpower and to the educational characteristics of the region. There are four categories of migratory zones.(1)

i) stable zones, characterised by a comparative balance between employment opportunities and available manpower, and where there co-exist:
   - either a dynamic and diversified economy and a highly-developed education system;
   - or an economy which uses unskilled labour and low education levels;

ii) zones having intense migratory movements, being affected by the attraction of zones with high manpower deficiencies (usually in highly-qualified manpower) and attracting less-qualified manpower from less-industrialised zones;

iii) regions with a predominantly rural economy and high levels of emigration. Migrants may be either under-qualified or have only an average general education, depending on the degree of development of their school system;

iv) regions with high immigration which attract manpower with extremely different levels of education.

The degree of geographical mobility of the population varies greatly from country to country, but very little over time. It is very high in the United States (20 per cent per annum)(2) and lower elsewhere (10 per cent per annum in France for instance).(3) In these two countries, studies of migrants have shown that about half

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1) "Les migrations d'actifs par niveau de diplômes", Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Qualifications (CEREQ), Paris, 1976.

2) J.B. Lansing and E. Muller, The Geographic Mobility of Labor, Survey Research Center, Ann Arbor, 1967.

3) H. Bastide and A. Girard, "Mobilité de la Population", Population No. 6, 1974.

of them leave for professional or vocational reasons - unemployment is not a reason for departure. This finding seems to be confirmed by statistical analyses of the causes of human-capital mobility. An examination of the relationship between the level of education and internal mobility in France shows that migrants are generally more educated than non-migrants.(1) Level of education is the most significant factor in inter-regional migration flows in terms of intensity and direction (well ahead of earnings and unemployment factors). The analysis also shows that it is immigration and not emigration which is linked to high educational levels.

Whilst for many years it was commonly believed that internal migration was the result of imperfections in the local and regional labour markets, it now appears conclusively that few job opportunities and low salaries in the region of origin are less important than the opportunities offered by the regions of destination. The advantages of highly-industrialised regions are perceived almost exclusively by highly-educated or trained migrants. In other words, not only do well-endowed regions attract the most migrants, they attract the most qualified migrants. This finding "... casts suspicion on the traditional idea of a reduction in regional disparities through mobility".(2) The relationship between age, level of education and migration shows that "the highest mobility is in the age group of those who have completed training and are beginning to find their feet in a professional activity; migration appears as an extension and a justification of educational investment".(3)

For the individual, therefore, in spite of the financial and psychological costs involved, the expected advantages of migration represent an investment which adds to the value of the educational investment. It would be interesting to discover to what extent the decline of return rates (increased education costs, reduction in job supply in regions of destination) has slowed down mobility and is expressed as a resistance to emigration, particularly by young people.

At the community level, and in particular in those countries where education is financed by local or regional authorities, human-capital mobility represents a loss for the region of origin and a considerable gain for the region of destination, generally already economically well-endowed. It tends, therefore, to increase regional disparities in development, and evidently has economic consequences

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1) "Les migrations d'actifs par niveau de diplômes", CEREQ, op. cit.

2) B. Millot. Le capital humain incorporé dans les échanges migratoires. IVe Colloque de la démographie du CNRS, No. 933, Caen, April 1973, p. 420.

3) ibid. See also B. Millot "Effets externes, éducation et mobilité" Revue d'économie politique, No. 3, May/June 1973, p. 516.

at an international level between rich and poor countries (such as the brain drain). These collective effects are amplified to the extent that geographical mobility is an efficient means of spreading the external effects of education: geographical distribution of knowledge, skills, etc.

In conclusion, analysis of the place of the employment parameter in regional education policies suffers from a lack of actual experience in this area. Vocational training policies have been generally defined in relation to objectives set at state or national level and the establishment of local schools was often the result of an historical situation which may no longer be appropriate to the thinking behind regional policies. In relation to the employment factor, regional educational policies would need to be reasonably pragmatic if they are to achieve their socio-economic objectives. Economic viability is not the only motive behind public services, above all education. Within this conception, employment is linked not only to production, but is considered as a means of enabling individuals to participate in the distribution of the social product. The regional dimension gives concrete form to this notion, often blurred by the consideration of undifferentiated equilibria at national level. In other words, cost-benefit considerations are more or less always at the heart of any decision to set up economic activities. Economic investment, independently of regional differences in operating costs, is justified only by the existence of job outlets. Apart from service activities, which have their place everywhere, the creation of activities comes under the umbrella of industrial policy, planned at national, or at least, inter-regional level. As far as social services, and especially education, are concerned, investment and running costs are subject to definite limits which are defined essentially in terms of population density and distance.

Finally, migration plays a central role at regional level in the relationship between education and employment. To the extent that it constitutes a mode of adjustment between supply and demand that is likely to reduce unemployment, mobility is encouraged at national level (by various means, including financial incentives). However, the high rate of emigration amongst highly-qualified manpower can adversely affect the development of the regions of departure and bring about regional inequalities in development. There may thus exist a conflict between national and regional objectives which will have to be resolved at a political level.

EDUCATION AND REGIONAL SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Traditionally, educational institutions have been responsible for the training of personnel to different levels of qualification

in the regional social services, as well as for the research and information services of these sectors. These institutions have, in recent years, attempted to take into account the specific demands of regional services. This has led them to open up new lines of training, to define their curricula, to ensure the in-service training of personnel and to carry out research on regional problems.

This policy of adapting educational institutions to their regional environment can usefully learn from the experience of earlier models such as the Land Grant Colleges originating in 19th century America. Community Colleges and Junior Colleges have proliferated during the last decades. They have attempted to solve the social problems of the community and to become cultural and recreational centres for their areas of influence. They have an extremely large range of studies devoted to social problems and cultural activities. New short-cycle higher education institutions(1) have been set up to act, amongst other things, as poles for regional development, while some new universities (Bremen, Roskilde, Luleå) were created to meet specific regional needs.

Analysis of all these efforts has led to the development of new concepts as to the role of schools and universities vis-à-vis their local and regional community, which is the theme of various activities of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI). Among the findings the following two may be mentioned:

i) This role depends largely on the very different types of relationship between school and community, on how the school views its surroundings, on the economic and social resources of the region and the population, and on the extent to which the school identifies with the community, thereby leading to its acceptance or, conversely, to a desire to transform it. These local factors can be transposed to a regional level. They imply a thorough knowledge of the school's surroundings and of specific problems linked to the socio-economic characteristics of the region or the area of influence. There have been many attempts to adapt teaching either to urban environments or to rural conditions and these have been identified.

ii) The university and similar institutions have an overall responsibility in the continuing analysis of their regional surroundings and regional and university problems should be more closely co-ordinated if an end is to be put to "inadequacies in university and social practices".

As an example, an analysis, based on several case studies, of the links between the university and the regional health services,

1) Short-cycle Higher Education: A Search for Identity, OECD, Paris, 1973.

has led to a definition of the functions of a "regional health university"(1), showing the contribution that this type of establishment should make to the development of a social sector at the regional level. Such a university should, for example:

- offer students a practical training in the various community health-care settings (offices of general practitioners, clinics, general hospitals, specialised hospitals, etc.);
- contribute to the continuing education of active health personnel according to their needs;
- develop biomedical and sociomedical research on health problems characteristic of the region;
- organise health information and education;
- participate in social and economic analysis of the health sector and in the promotion of any solutions likely to improve the operation of that sector;
- promote inter-regional co-operation in the health sector;
- intervene more directly in the delivery of health care and to promote the co-ordination of health care structures and health institutions.

The relatively recent idea that school and the university should participate in cultural life and provide support for the region's cultural development is a controversial one. It seems to be the end-product, on the one hand, of the renaissance of regional cultures and languages, and on the other of the desire to open up educational establishments to the local and regional community and establish dynamic exchanges between them.

In the past, the school, by teaching the same language and values to populations of widely differing ethnic origins within a nation, often contributed to the promotion of a dominant national culture and language at the expense of regional cultures and languages. This is particularly true in countries having high immigration, in centralised countries or in those which achieved political unity in the 19th century. In recent years there has been a revival of regional movements and a reaction against attempts to assimilate, acculturate and integrate regional or ethnic characteristics with the predominant national culture. These movements, which appear to varying degrees in almost all Member countries(2), have given

1) Health, Higher Education and the Community: Towards a Regional Health University, OECD/CERI, Paris, 1977.

2) F.M. Wirt, "Ethnic Minorities and School Policy in European Democracies", International Symposium at Novidad, Yugoslavia, 1976.
R.G. Paulson, "Ethnicity and Educational Change. A Priority for Comparative Education". Comparative Education Review, 12, No. 3, 1976.
P. Furter, "Revendications régionales et unification nationale". Communication to the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, London, June 1977.

increased prominence to cultural, linguistic and educative factors and have led certain states either to adopt or to strengthen pluralistic policies, or policies recognising the special features of the regions and their differences. These movements emphasize the need for the regionalisation of education policies, particularly in centralised countries, and are concerned to make the school a means of promoting regional culture. This demand is very clearly asserted by ethnic minorities as a result of a heightened awareness of their identity, and who insist that education should meet their particular needs and conform to their cultural and linguistic customs. In some cases, such as Spain for instance, it has taken the form of criticism and opposition to national plans to reform the educational system. At present it is often difficult to translate these aspirations into policy proposals and frequently there has been very little response, apart from introducing or extending the teaching of regional languages and the study of the regional environment in primary and secondary schools, training teachers for this purpose and undertaking linguistic research. In a few cases there have been substantial changes made to school curricula which now give greater emphasis to the study of local environments and local and regional history.

There are, however, serious obstacles to the potential of education for promoting regional culture:

- For some people, it seems paradoxical to make the school an instrument for the defence of cultural heritages which are victims of urbanisation, of rural exodus, of the modernisation of the rural world or of the media;
- There are strong social and political forces which favour support for a national culture and values, and regional cultural programmes do not receive strong financial backing from national sources;
- Teachers and educational institutions themselves interpret regional cultural development in a way which is often restrictive or very different from that of the cultural groups or associations. The extra-mural forms of education adopted by these groups would therefore seem much more appropriate.

Independently of these cultural and political aspirations, the decentralisation of cultural policies and the development of adult education combine to increase the cultural role of education at regional level. The movement towards cultural decentralisation - resulting from the spontaneous advance in this sector and from the need for more active and improved participation in cultural life has affected most Member countries.(1) It has led to the creation

1) The Demystification of Culture, Conference of European Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1976.
S. Mennel, Cultural Policy in Towns, Council of Europe, 1976, Strasbourg.

of regional cultural centres likely to reach a wider public - particularly among young people - and to give more impetus to social and cultural movements and groups. It has meant decentralisation of decision-making and the establishment of co-ordination structures with other institutions, in particular with schools and universities. The extension of adult education activities within schools, and above all within higher education institutions, has provided people with greater opportunities for recurrent education. These are as yet little known and very unevenly spread. In some countries these openings have existed for some time (study groups in the Scandinavian countries, for instance); elsewhere they are of more recent date, but it has proved difficult to co-ordinate them with other educational activities. The people who use these services seem mostly to come from the middle classes of university towns. In some cases the services are relayed by the media (radio, television, correspondence) or are decentralised (open universities). They can then be broadcast over a much wider geographical area, and reach a more widespread public.(1) The Open University in the United Kingdom, an example of the geographic dissemination of advanced education, has led authorities in some regions to adapt their local organisation to the needs of students scattered in underpopulated areas.(2)

To conclude this chapter, it should be stressed that despite all the assertions and convictions expressed in many quarters, the contribution that education makes to regional development remains difficult to assess, because of its multi-dimensional nature. The "openness" and specific character of individual regions, together with inter-regional complementarity, means that it would be questionable to transpose to this level a causal link found at national level. The nature of this contribution seems to depend closely on what objectives are assigned to education, what is meant by regional development and, lastly, on the institutional relations and distribution of power between central and regional authorities. For example, if equality of opportunity of access to education is seen at national level as a priority, and as an important and autonomous component of regional development, the means will be made available for reducing disparities (independently of other needs and at the risk of creating migratory flows that will disturb equilibrium). If, on the other hand, educational progress is seen less as an end in itself rather than as a means of attaining the development objectives

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1) B. Sefer, "Local and Regional Centres for Recurrent Education; Yugoslav Experience and Orientation", Recurrent Education, National Institute of Education, US Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, 1974.

2) L. Sissons, "Regional Provision for Remote Students in Scotland", Teaching at a distance No. 9, The Open University, 1977.

relating to employment and culture specific to each region, the objective of reducing regional inequalities could then be accessory. This problem will be discussed in Chapter III.

In reality, these policies should aim at harmonizing these objectives and defining their prerequisites. According to many regional authorities, education can contribute to regional economic development if certain educational conditions are respected. But if educational development takes place independently of economic and social development it will become a factor encouraging regional disintegration. Institutional structures should have an influence on these trends. The role of education in regional policies are drawn up by regional authorities based on regional parameters or by national authorities on the basis of national objectives. An analysis of these organisational structures will be made in Chapter IV.

III

REGIONAL DISPARITIES IN EDUCATION

Independently of its economic and cultural functions in society, education is a service sector responding to the needs and demands of individuals. Owing to its conditions of financing, production and distribution it is usually a public (or quasi-public) sector. These characteristics make education a service which must be accessible to users on the same basis, notwithstanding their place of residence. In most cases it is even recognised as a right written into Constitutions, while equality of educational opportunity irrespective of social and geographical origin is a continuing objective of education policies in all OECD countries.

Yet attendance statistics show the existence and persistence of regional disparities in all countries. This situation calls for an attempt, in the context of the issues taken up in this report, to:

i) measure these disparities;
ii) analyse their causes;
iii) discuss the means used to reduce them.

EXTENT OF REGIONAL DISPARITIES

Statistics on participation in non-compulsory education show inter-regional disparities in all countries. Their volume varies according to the level of studies and over time. A report by the Secretariat(1) based on pre-1965 data noted that "contrary to some opinions, there has been no evident trend toward the narrowing of regional disparities during the rapid post-war expansion of education. In fact, the only genuine indication of contraction of regional differences in participation appears in countries and at school levels where enrolment ratios are generally high and advantaged regions have already reached a near-maximum level." The general trend has been towards a stabilization of disparities in secondary education and an increase in higher education. No reduction in these

1) Group Disparities in Educational Participation and Achievement, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, Vol. IV, OECD document, Paris, 1971, p. 13.

Table 2

TREND IN DISPERSION INDEXES OF SCHOOL RATES BY REGION

UNWEIGHTED STANDARD DEVIATION (V) AND COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION (C)

		V	C(%)	V	C(%)
		Age group 16-19			
AUSTRALIA	1965/66	2.4	16.2		
(8 states or territories)	1970/71	5.7	28.0		
	1973/74	6.4	27.0		
		Secondary education Age group 14-17		Full-time higher education Age group 18-24	
CANADA	1960/61	8.14	11.9	2.0	25.9
(10 provinces)	1965/66	8.50	11.05	2.48	22.1
	1970/71	10.48	11.73	2.37	13.7
	1972/73	10.39	11.87	1.75	13.6
		Male graduates from Gymnasia		Female graduates from Gymnasia	
WEST GERMANY	1964	1.48	15.7	0.91	15.4
(11 Länder)	1974	4.39	18.6	3.46	22.8
FRANCE	1971/72				
Total upper secondary education		9.26	12.9		
- of which leading to higher education		8.86	16.5		
university education		5.47	38.5		
		Total upper secondary education		General secondary education	
ITALY	1964/65	5.02	23.7	1.91	33.6
(19 regions)	1971/72	6.08	13.4	3.00	24.2
		Age group 16-19		Age group 20-24	
YUGOSLAVIA	1960/61	9.81	11.5	2.48	107.
(8 Republics)	1973/74	9.39	10.5	4.21	33.1

Note: The unweighted standard deviation does not take into account the varying sizes of the school population in each region: the coefficient of variation is the ratio between the standard deviation and the arithmetic mean of the school rates. The growth of these indexes over time indicates an increase in disparities; their decrease shows an attenuation of them.

Source: These school rates by region have been calculated on the basis of national statistics.

disparities has been noted over the last 10 years, as can be seen by the diverging trend in the dispersion indexes of school enrolment rates by region (Table 2). This does not exclude the fact that some Member countries, e.g. Norway, have in the last decade observed a certain equalisation in the quality of teaching in the various regions.(1)

Differences in enrolment rates give only a partial picture of the extent of these disparities:

i) In the first place, there are some ten methods of measuring the dispersion of these differences and the results of the calculations are often divergent. The number and average size of regional units influence the extent and variations of deviations from the mean: divergences decrease with the magnitude of the units considered. However, these units, which are imposed by the state statistical sources, are often inappropriate because they are too heterogeneous. The construction of more homogeneous units (rural and urban zones, for instance) makes it possible to observe greater inter-regional variations and understand better the relationships between individual school-attendance behaviour and the characteristics of the collective units constituted by the zones. This question has more than a methodological interest; it also has a bearing on the significance and understanding of the phenomenon.(2) Very few observations of intra-regional variations between such homogeneous units are, however, available.

ii) The meaning of the notion of regional disparities is itself open to question. Disparities in regional enrolment rates are defined in terms of the average; lower-than-average rates are then identified and interpreted as backward in comparison to the other levels. This approach tends to overlook the fact that education takes place in highly different areas, in constant evolution and under extremely varied physical, human and economic conditions, and that educational indicators are not necessarily correlated with socio-regional indicators. The differences observed from one region to another are not of a homogeneous nature: the same level of participation in secondary or higher education can be seen in dynamic regions, where employment

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1) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, OECD, Paris, 1976, Chap. IV.

2) M. Segré Brun and L. Tanguy, "Quelle unité d'analyse retenir pour étudier les variations géographiques de la scolarisation?", Revue Française de Sociologie, Vol. VIII, 1967.

opportunities are high, as in underdeveloped regions, where it may serve as a protection against unemployment and as a preliminary to migration. It may hide strong inequalities in social opportunities and in employment prospects.

iii) At compulsory level considerable regional differences may be observed in repeater and promotion rates in the course of schooling. The results of standard attainment tests vary according to regions and institutions, as the Coleman Report pointed out over ten years ago.(1) These geographical inequalities in retention or results are less well known than regional disparities in access to non-compulsory studies measured by means of school attendance statistics. They are no less important and would call for the development of regional education indicators. The same applies to the whole adult education sector.

iv) Lastly, the concept of geographical disparity (like that of social inequality in school results) is often defined on the basis of a single criterion and on a uniform scale. In some countries there is a preference for a concept whereby each group and each geographical unit would adopt several criteria incorporating its own value systems and characteristics, but without grading the different value systems.(2)

FACTORS DETERMINING REGIONAL DISPARITIES

The causes of regional disparities in access to or success in education are difficult to grasp because they are closely dependent on other social or individual factors. From the findings of various studies in this field it is not easy to see clearly the extent to which such disparities may be attributed to:

a) unequal distribution of supply, defined in terms of places, teaching conditions and curricula;

b) socio-cultural factors or historical traditions specific to the region and influencing demand; and

c) types of jobs available or not available on the regional market.

In Technical Report No. 8, higher school attendance in the General Aid Areas and in southern Sweden at upper secondary level is attributed both to a higher-than-average number of places and to fewer job opportunities, secondary schools being nearer to home than

1) J.S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966.

2) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, Chap. IV, 1976.

workplaces. But in the same regions transition rates to higher education are below average.

The distance between home and school affects the propensity to continue education. This is very clear at the pre-primary level and puts children in regions with scattered populations at a disadvantage. It is still very marked at technical and professional levels, due either to the limited number (or absence) of training establishments in some regions or to their high level of specialisation. A recent study in Italy shows that 42 per cent of pupils aged 15 to 18 in vocational education live 10 kilometres from their school, and in some cases 50 kilometres. For almost 20 per cent the distance is over 20 kilometres. This represents more than half an hour's travel for 30 per cent of pupils, some three-quarters of an hour for at least 15 per cent and more than an hour for approximately 8 per cent(1). Although the problem does not take the same form at the higher education level, distance still has an effect on access to higher studies, depending on student groups, study programmes offered, and regional employment prospects. Technical Report No. 8 shows that the different potential student groups have different priorities and "sensitivities" according to the nature, size, variety and proximity of the types of studies. Thus the access of persons motivated but older than average, or employed, or coming from disadvantaged social groups or married (women in particular) is closely linked to the distance between the home and the educational institution. The same holds for young, unemployed and poorly-motivated candidates (except those wishing to get away from their original environment). On the other hand, secondary school-leavers wishing to go on to higher studies are not very sensitive to this distance effect. In the case of the United States a Carnegie Commission study shows that college location has little effect on attendance, except for mature students and in particular areas, but it does affect the choice of subjects.(2)

These disparities do not seem to be dependent on the degree of administrative centralisation; highly centralised countries, where decisions tend to create uniform school conditions, show just as sharp disparities as countries where such decisions are the responsibility of local or regional authorities. Similarly, in the United Kingdom organisational differences in the educational systems of England and Scotland are not reflected in attainment disparities,

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1) "L'attività regionale di formazione professionale", Quaderni di formazione, No. 26, April 1976, Istituto per lo sviluppo professionale dei lavoratori, Roma.

2) A. Anderson, M.J. Bowman, V. Tinto: Where Colleges Are and Who Attends. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1972.

whereas considerable differences are observed between the North and the South of England.(1)

Such disparities are partly due to differences in economic, socio-professional and family structures; but the relationships between social and geographical inequalities are difficult to grasp. It is a very delicate technical matter to dissociate the relative effects of social factors and ecological factors as is pointed out by the Norwegian authorities in a report on educational policy.(2) These effects are in fact so closely interwoven that it is somewhat illusory to attempt to distinguish them.(3) A recent study carried out in France shows that regional inequalities superimpose their effects on social inequalities, softening or aggravating them depending on social category and region. Whereas school participation by upper-class children seems to be unaffected by regional differences, in the case of other categories - manual workers, for instance - it is extremely sensitive to regional cultural traditions, types of school near home and local or regional employment prospects.(4) A survey conducted in the same country shows that risks of unemployment and activity rates for young people vary considerably according to the region. They are higher where education opportunities - in particular general education - are few and below the average. The scarcity of diplomas and vocational training facilities perhaps partly explains the differential vulnerability of young people to unemployment.(5) But interferences between the "school market" and the regional labour market are governed by complex rules which are still not well known.

Difficulties in analysis are due to the fact that educational disparities are the result of complex processes of interaction between supply and demand and changes in each of their determinants. Depending on time-periods and the socio-economic development of regions (and notably of such factors as population density, employment possibilities, role of migration, degree of urbanisation, etc.) educational supply conditions or pressures of demand may have been the determining element in this dynamic situation. During the last 20 years it may have been rightly thought that demand was the motor

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1) J.W.B. Douglas et al, "Regional Differences in Educational Opportunity and Attainment", All Our Futures: A longitudinal study of secondary education, P. Davies, London, 1966, Chap. 11.

2) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, op. cit.

3) A. Darbel, "Inégalités régionales ou inégalités sociales?" Revue Francaise de Sociologie, VIII, 1967.

4) "Les disparités régionales", Etudes et documents, Ministère de l'Education nationale, 1976.

5) G. Balazs, "Chômage et insertion professionelle: disparités régionales", in Cahiers du centre d'études de l'emploi, No. 15, 1977.

element in this differential development. The results of surveys like the Coleman Report, or studies on the influence of social and cultural environment on school attainment and behaviour, as well as policies of meeting social demand, confirm this hypothesis. Consequently, the rapid, autonomous and uncontrollable development of education in already advanced areas might explain the persistence of regional differences despite the efforts of policies to reduce disparities in less advanced regions.

However, the results of research on this theme are on the whole rather disappointing and the underlying causes of disparities remain obscure. Techniques of quantitative analysis (multiple-production functions or linear regression) do not explain the individual impact of school factors and environment factors. It would seem that for this purpose recourse should be had to more qualitative analysis, either socio-historical or ethnological(1), to assess the continuing influence of ecological factors on the teaching process and knowledge acquisition models.

POLICIES FOR REDUCING REGIONAL DISPARITIES

The reduction of regional disparities in education has for a long time been a policy concern of most Member countries and is in keeping with the much wider aim of equalising possibilities of access and achievement in terms of social and geographical origin, although the social aspects have usually received special attention. The persistence of geographical disparities and the growing concern to provide all users/taxpayers with "physical accessibility" to community services(2) explains the increasingly pronounced interest in the regional dimension of the problem.

To reduce the backwardness of some areas and regions complex mechanisms have been introduced which tend mainly to be directed towards supply and more seldom towards demand. Measures to improve supply are the favourite tools of policy and are also justified by some of the analyses of the trends in disparities. The studies on Sweden and Finland (Technical Reports Nos. 8 and 9) show that the

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1) Among current research conducted within a socio-historical perspective, mention may be made of the studies of the International Institute for Educational Planning on regional disparities in education in a number of Third World countries. For an ethnographic approach see S. Wilson, "The Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research", Review of Education and Research. Vol. 47, No. 1, Winter 1977.

2) The improvement of physical accessibility to services, notably education, is a major social concern common to most OECD countries for which indicators have been defined, as in the OECD List of Social Concerns. See Measures of Social Well-being, OECD, Paris, 1976.

lag in higher education in some regions has been made up by opening new institutions and that choice of the branch of study depends on the supply of places in the various universities in the region. A similar finding has led the authorities in Bavaria to undertake infrastructure planning with a view to equalising opportunity of access. This concept of infrastructure is defined as all educational facilities (schools, various services and qualitative elements of supply) coming under the responsibility of the public authorities, the provision of which will affect conditions of access and achievement.(1)

Measures for reducing disparities are of two kinds: regulatory (decisions to set up or eliminate schools, teaching jobs, etc.) and financial (allocating finance for buildings and running costs between the country's regions and sub-regions). Over the last decade efforts in most Member countries have been directed towards the location of schools and similar institutional networks so as to take account of population density and movements, local and regional needs, and the development of demand and educational structures. This planning of educational facilities has led to significant methodological work for the preparation of school and university "maps".(2) The aim is to equalise opportunity of access between the different school catchment areas by distributing supply conditions more effectively. However, criteria have had to be used which limit this equalisation of conditions of access, namely: in the location of schools, particularly of technical and vocational facilities, consideration has had to be given to regional employment prospects, which, of course, are particularly hard to forecast; the quest for optimum size and cost of schools has sometimes led to a reduction in the density of the school network and the closing down of low-attendance schools in sparsely-populated areas. This has met with opposition from local inhabitants and communities, as a result of which authorities have very often had to reconsider their decision-making criteria. Finally, in a number of cases, regional political pressure has played a not-negligible part in the siting of secondary schools and higher education establishments.

Technical Reports 8 and 9 on Sweden and Finland show that the concentration of the educational network (notably in higher education) has, by reducing catchment areas, attenuated the effects of distance and contributed to a better balance of geographical opportunity of access. The Finnish study shows that, by the creation of higher education centres in rural areas where they were absent, the

1) R. Ritter, "Problems, Methods and Results of Regional Educational Research and Educational Planning in Bavaria", op. cit.

2) For a summary of these studies see The School Map, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1977.

access rate and the opportunities to study, for students from these areas, have considerably increased. In a general way, the creation of new short-cycle higher education establishments and new universities in medium-sized towns has contributed to the democratisation of access to post-secondary studies as well as to regional development. Examples are the Norwegian District Colleges, the British Polytechnics, the French IUTs and the Canadian and United States Junior Colleges.(1) The increasing use of new media (radio, television, correspondence courses) and particularly the various forms of "open university"-type learning has enabled regional inequalities in higher education, and more generally, adult education, to be smoothed out.

Sparsely-populated rural zones are faced, as Technical Reports 3 and 4 on the French "Massif Central" region and on Switzerland show, with special educational problems (the existence of one-class primary schools, classes containing pupils of different ages and educational levels, less-qualified teachers, a high rotation rate, absenteeism) linked with the difficulties faced by pupils (scattered homes, long distances between home and school, the scholastic context not being adapted to the rural community, participation in agricultural work, etc.). All these factors lower the quality of education and disadvantage children from rural areas. Measures envisaged to mitigate this situation have been the grouping of schools (see Chapter IV), bussing, boarding schools, teacher-support structures such as teaching assistants, appropriate teacher training and various financial and promotional incentives, and adapting curricula to regional environments. These measures have been supplemented by efforts to stimulate education demand by means of financial support for pupils and students living at a distance from secondary schools and universities, reductions in fares, and improved information. Thus, in connection with the development programme for the French Massif Central, the authorities have experimented with various formulae for grouping classes (to avoid closing isolated schools), introducing seasonal boarding, school bus services and adapting school curricula to seasonal conditions. Elementary knowledge of the environment has been introduced into the curricula; teachers have been trained as rural organisers and receive salary supplements or housing benefits.

The programmes in the "Educational Priority Areas" in the United Kingdom, particularly at pre-primary level, afford another known example of compensatory action directed towards social minorities in their original geographical environment.

Over and above the location of schools, financing methods, to the extent that they are linked with policy objectives and in

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1) Short-cycle Higher Education: A Search for Identity, OECD, Paris, 1973.

particular that of equality of opportunity, have a decisive role to play in the reduction of educational disparities. Thus, in a number of Member countries plans have been drawn up for the redistribution on a more equal basis of national, regional and local resources for the benefit of poorer areas, so as to contribute to an equalisation of local taxation rates (United Kingdom, Germany and Australia), expenditure per pupil (United States and Canada) or contributions in physical resources (Netherlands and Sweden).(1) Less frequently, mechanisms enable supplementary resources to be allocated to certain zones or underprivileged groups to compensate for - and not merely to equalise - the quality of the services and teaching conditions. Hence in Norway the method of financing helps to compensate for the negative effects on children of geographical isolation. In Italy additional resources are made available to schools in the south of the country and in the United Kingdom to schools in poor districts. The scope and results of these measures vary considerably from country to country. They depend on the financial and administrative (or regulatory) methods of the central authorities, on the distribution of sources of finance (central, central and local, fiscal or non-fiscal) or on the types of financial support provided (flat or varying-rate subsidies, salary payments, etc.), with a view to determining the norms necessary for the improvement of educational conditions or to achieve the objective of equality between regions or local districts. They also vary according to the modes of distribution of power between the various administrative levels (central, regional and local). These organisational modes are discussed in Chapter IV.

These new programmes and new arrangements focussed on groups make it possible to reach beyond a notion aimed at equalising resources or means between regions with a view to reducing disparities. They attempt to reach this objective by differentiating teaching on the basis of individuals' origins and by making special efforts for those belonging to the least-advantaged areas or groups. The reduction of social and geographical disparities would, according to this new approach, no longer be through access to a higher social position or a more favoured geographical area (in particular large towns), i.e. by social or geographical mobility but by action which is differentiated according to the groups and regions making up society as a whole and the country, and action independent of the status ladders which exist between social categories and life-styles.(2)

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1) Educational Financing and Policy Goals for Primary Schools, Country Studies (3 volumes), OECD/CERI, Paris, forthcoming 1979.

2) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, op. cit.

IV

PLANNING AND ORGANISATIONAL ISSUES

EDUCATION AND THE BROADER REGIONAL PLANNING CONTEXT: INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS

In this last chapter attention is given to some of the main organisational issues associated with the place of education in regional development policies. The development of regional structures for educational planning and administration in the OECD countries is a response to many different and often unrelated pressures. In the following pages, two broad approaches already touched upon in Chapter I will be considered: first, regionalisation of education as part of the implementation of comprehensive regional development policies, involving various departments and levels of government; secondly, regionalisation as a measure internal to the education system itself, involving reorganisation of planning and implementation procedures, but carried out without major reference to other sectors of government. Within this general framework attention will be given to the special problems which differentiate systems of government in federal and unitary States.

While recognising the importance of education in the infrastructural provision underpinning regional development policies, the OECD Working Party on Regional Development Policies drew attention to some of the organisational factors which impede that provision. In particular, it pointed out that responsibility for infrastructure development is not centralised in most countries. Indeed, central government, local and regional authorities, independent statutory agencies, and, in many cases, private enterprises, share the responsibility. Each will operate within its own framework of policy and criteria for the use of its resources. These can be modified for the purposes of regional policy and in many OECD countries this is increasingly done by the provision of special-purpose central government funds to the other bodies, or by modification of the rules under which they operate. This is a sensitive and difficult business, yet one which must be accomplished if regional development policies are to be effective:

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"Since the various types of infrastructure are complementary to each other, the effectiveness of a regional infrastructure policy will largely be determined by the degree of co-ordination between the responsible authorities."(1)

Despite the importance of education, there has been little direct participation by education authorities in comprehensive regional planning activities in the OECD countries. No better illustration of this could be given than the situation in the United Kingdom described in Technical Report No. 6. Various factors have been identified as causing this apparent isolation of education from the planning of regional development. They include:

i) The tendency of education systems to conform to overall societal norms rather than those especially appropriate to particular regions;
ii) The "closed" nature of education systems;
iii) Constitutional provisions and administrative traditions which pose barriers to the co-ordination and integration of education with other regional policy areas, and which cast doubt on where authority over education systems lies;
iv) The particular characteristics and orientations of typical ministries or departments responsible for regional planning in most Member countries;
v) The tendency of most education authorities to adopt a narrow definition of regionalisation as a process internal to the education system, involving such organisational adjustments as deconcentration, decentralisation and consolidation.

It is appropriate at this stage to analyse each of these factors in some detail.

The trend, evident in most Member countries, toward nationwide educational uniformity, works against the adaptation of education to the particular social, economic and political needs of regions. This uniformity has often meant that the education system assumes a considerable degree of institutional and curriculum standardization, including common entrance criteria to universities, standardization of teacher training courses (and consequent certificates for teachers) and requirements for entry to the professions. It can also entail pressure from employers and trade unions for recognisable school achievement records, and a desire to conform to common institutional norms by those who administer and work in education institutions. Perhaps the greatest pressure of all is applied by communities - parents and students - to ensure that their schools or

1) Re-appraisal of Regional Policies in OECD Countries, op. cit. p. 109.

universities or technical colleges are offering as good (which usually means much the same) an education as is available elsewhere in the country. Their motives for this range from a desire to ensure flexibility and mobility in employment and further-study opportunities, to the simple demand for what they see as the practical realisation of the principle of equality of opportunity. A first example of these nationwide standardization pressures was given in the Review of Education Policy in Norway. Discussing ways in which tight central controls over the education system might be loosened, it was observed: "In Norway, the system of indirect controls is still very strong, despite some recent moves to relax it. The most important of such mechanisms are:

1. the national examination system;
2. teacher training and national criteria for teacher employment;
3. institutional accreditation by the Ministry, for purposes of subsidies;
4. research budgets and research priorities;
5. innovation budgets and innovation priorities;
6. the special role of the University of Oslo among the universities and regional colleges."(1)

An example of the implications for regional needs of the rigid enforcement of a policy of educational equality is given by Technical Report No. 4 on Switzerland. The meagre resources of many mountain communities which prevent them from financing adequate school amenities and from planning an effective education policy point to the necessity of more effective educational planning in the cantons taking account of regional and communal needs. A rigid policy of educational equality discriminates, in fact, against the mountain regions.

Whatever the reasons, the relatively uniform objectives and operational characteristics of education systems makes it difficult for them to respond to the special needs and pressures of individual regions, and often leads them to act independently of those who are responsible for producing and implementing general regional development policies. The latter are also discouraged from seriously considering the ways in which the education system should be specifically adapted to regional policies.

The internal control of the education system in most countries - with its traditional autonomy, its often narrow professional base, its political sensitivity, and sometimes its removal even from the normal structures of government - has also made it difficult to

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1) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, op. cit., p. 41.

include education in broadly-based regional planning. The term "system" suggests an all-embracing nature which in practice often does not exist. The education system is normally broken down into divisions which may be governed quite separately, and tend to function independently of each other. Most of these divisions, but especially the higher education sectors, are notoriously jealous of their autonomy, not only within the education system, but in relation to the control mechanisms of society as a whole. The concept of "academic freedom" is a time-honoured one, and even Ministers in unitary States with highly-centralised systems of education have great difficulty in forcing institutions such as universities to conform to overall national education policies, much less the complex policy demands of regionalism. In addition, education systems, and their sub-divisions, are often administered by professional educationalists with strong commitments to specific professional objectives. The resultant narrowness of policy may be reinforced by the sectional pressure of teachers' unions and similar professional associations. Even when the government of education appears to be more broadly based in the community, such as being vested with locally-elected boards, there is often a persistent isolation of education from the mainstream of policy areas which are of prime concern in regional development. In the United States, for example, many states administer elementary and secondary education through school districts which are controlled by such boards. These are usually single-purpose agencies with their own taxing powers. They tend to have little involvement with the policy requirements of other sectors of government and are often so small in size and resources as to have little relevance for what might be termed the natural regional structure of the country.

It does not seem to matter if the boards are politically non-partisan, as in the United States, or directly representative of the major political groupings within the country, as in England or Norway. In each case their central focus is the school system rather than broader "political" questions of regional policy. This view is supported by Technical Report No. 1 on the Tennessee Valley where the author writes: "regionalism concepts have little influence on education in this country. Perhaps even more than other fields of public service, education has been from the beginning, and remains, a matter in which the local community is jealous of its rights and responsibilities". However, as exceptions, he cites several regional collaboration efforts in higher education, first undertaken by the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONSTRAINTS

Constitutional factors and administrative traditions are also barriers to the full participation of education in regional planning and development activities. This is partly a reflection of the complexities inherent in different systems of government, and of the particular administrative arrangements which must be made to accommodate them. The difficulties which these "political" problems pose for regional planning in general were the subject of considerable comment by the OECD Working Party on Regional Development Policies. In its conclusions, the Working Party stated:

> "We consider that regional policies pose special problems of organisation, at both national and local levels. The reason is that regional problems cut across the normal functions or subjects of 'functional' Departments of Governments, and, at the local level, local authority systems are often not geared to consider and act upon problems of a regional character. The multiplicity of objectives and the diffusion of responsibility between several authorities and agencies also gives rise to special problems of co-ordination between them and of developing a common approach to general strategies. The need for co-ordination and a central strategy or framework of guiding principles poses the question of how best to carry out this task. Organisation is also an issue affected by the political and constitutional systems for distributing responsibilities between different bodies and for securing adequate interest and involvement or 'participation' by the public as such."(1)

The same problems are raised by the authors of Technical Report No. 6 on education in regional development policies in the United Kingdom. They write: "The low education content of regional plans may reflect the lack of educational planning at this scale, since there is no educational equivalent of the economic planning regions. Thus any educational response to regional development policies must be implemented by the individual education authorities of which there are 11 in the West Midlands, or by individual colleges controlled by them."

The Working Party argued that countries differ too much in their political and administrative institutions for any one organisational method to be recommended as the best solution. Nevertheless, in view of the consistent principles of government which operate in various countries, certain general proposals can be made.

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1) Re-appraisal of Regional Policies in OECD Countries, op. cit., p. 143.

In unitary States such as France, the United Kingdom and Norway, the Constitution (in whatever form) generally only makes it necessary to have one level of government, namely the central or national government. Regional and local governments are usually the offspring of laws passed by central parliaments. In constitutional terms, it seems quite a simple matter for the central governments of unitary States to effect regional planning, and even to establish authorities to achieve this purpose. However, the experience of unitary States is not similar in this regard. Much depends on the size and strength of the levels of government which exist away from the centre. Indeed unitary States should be thought of in terms of at least two "types" of government, highly decentralised and moderately centralised. This distinction, and its implications for a consideration of the organisational problems associated with regional development policies, have been analysed in a separate OECD report.

> "The problem of organisation is not only one of structure of central Government. In unitary States there are various ways in which local and regional administration can be organised and in these, as in Federal States, the division of power and responsibilities between the central and local bodies must influence the organisation of both. In highly centralized unitary States in which the central authority not only lays down general policy but has a large degree of executive power in the local sphere, local authorities have a corresponding small role. Policies of decentralization, which may be necessary if central Departments are too large or unresponsive to local needs, can take different forms, from delegation to, or extension of the powers of, local authorities, to the creation of regional bodies. In less centralized unitary States the existence of large local authorities with a wide range of executive powers reduces the size and functions of central Departments. Decentralization policies may present a choice between further development of local authority systems or the introduction of regional authorities the scope for which will depend on the nature of the problems and the capability of the local authorities to deal with them."(1)

In countries with federal systems of government, political and organisational problems are almost automatically more complex and difficult than in unitary States, though again there are varying patterns of authority within the constitutional framework of such countries. Federal constitutions, such as those in the United States, Australia, Switzerland and Germany, typically assert the rights and powers of both central and state governments. One cannot

1) Issues of Regional Policies, OECD, Paris, 1973, pp. 214-215.

abolish or restructure the other, and each is, in a real sense, independent of the other and protective of that status. The identification of regions, and the setting up of planning machinery for them, is often a matter of much contention. If the region lies within the boundaries of a state or province or Land, prime initiative usually lies with the government of that state, though the situation may be complicated by the regional policies put forward by the central or federal government. In such a situation the state government may regard federal initiative as a jurisdictional intrusion. This is well illustrated in Technical Report No. 1 in the description and analysis of regionalism in the United States. It is pointed out that the states are and have always been the basic political and administrative units of the United States, and that despite recent encroachments by the federal government into various areas of public policy (through the power of the purse and the enforcement of constitutionally supported citizens' rights), "the states are still primary, and whatever movements towards regionalization in a political sense have occurred or may occur, the powers of the states have to be reckoned with".

In most federal countries, regions will naturally extend beyond the boundaries of a particular state. The necessity to negotiate complex agreements between governments as a prerequisite to the establishment of regional planning machinery and programmes poses a considerable barrier, especially as competing levels of authority and disputes over the legitimacy of the federal 'interest' may be involved. The end result has been rather slower progress in federal countries towards regional planning and development. As the same report points out, "state boundaries stood in the way of any genuine regionalisation for political or administrative purposes". In Technical Report No. 2 on Australia, the author gives some indication of this when he writes that "In Australia the main responsibility for regional policies rests with the state governments, and the Federal government is very limited in the extent to which it can engage in 'location-specific' activities". The same issue is raised in Technical Report No. 4 on Switzerland. The author emphasizes the constitutional limits on Confederation intervention in cantonal affairs, and "the complexity of integrating federal, cantonal and communal measures". In Germany, the Constitution contains a catalogue of Federal legislative responsibilities. That catalogue is 'exhaustive', i.e. Federal responsibility cannot be extended beyond areas listed therein, except by constitutional amendment. Such classical areas of national policy as external relations, defence, citizenship, currency, etc. are assigned exclusively to the Federation. Beyond these exclusively Federal competences, the Federation is given so-called 'competitive legislative rights' in a number of

additional fields; in these fields the Länder may legislate as long as the Federation has not done so; and the Federation may do so if and to the extent to which the nature of the cause requires uniform regulations covering more than one Land. On the same conditions - i.e. if and to the extent to which the nature of the subject requires uniform regulations - the Bund finally has legislative competence in certain areas for "framework legislation" which is then to be concretised and translated into detail by the individual Länder. One of these "framework legislative rights" is that for "framework legislation on regional planning" ("Raumordnung"). Since the term "Raumordnung" was not defined in the Constitution, the Federal Constitutional Court took occasion in 1954 to define what, as a minimum, competitive Federal authority for framework legislation on regional planning might imply:

i) that the Federation may set general, regional targets, i.e. targets which are to serve as guidelines for its own regional targets and policy concepts or principles which Länder are to adapt in accordance with their respective regional requirements;

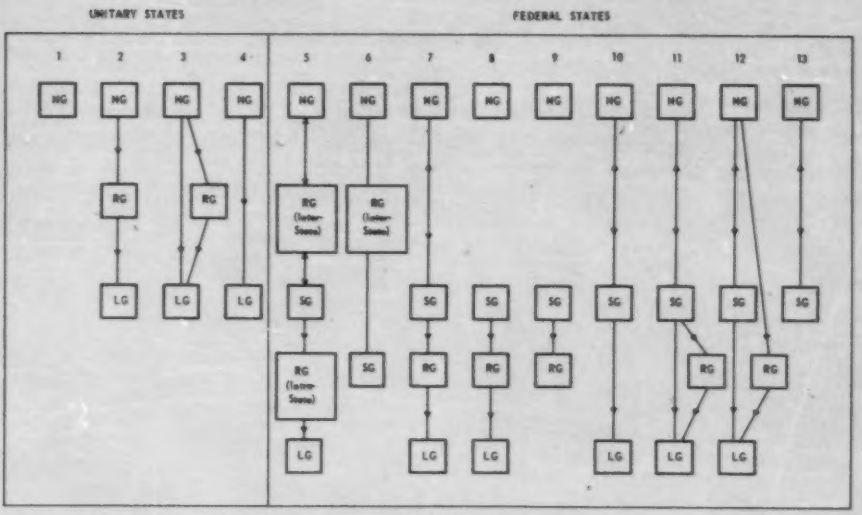
ii) that the Federation may regulate the co-ordination processes on the Federal level (horizontal), and between the Bund and the Länder (vertical), including the setting of norms on all aspects of dominance or legal claims between regional plans at all levels.

The relative complexity of achieving agreements between governments and of establishing regional planning authorities in the two different types of systems of government is shown in the model hereafter.

It seems that in all federal countries within the OECD the legal scope for national governments to engage in regional planning is limited by constitutional provisions, especially by comparison with what is possible in unitary States. In federal countries, therefore, the most effective national role in regional planning may be that which relates to regions which extend beyond the boundaries of single states or provinces, and which may then involve multi-government agreements. In such circumstances, the federal government may legitimately assume a co-ordinating and partnership role in regional planning and development.

Of course the fact that both federal and state governments may be involved in planning for regional development does not mean that both levels of government are able to develop education policies whether they have regional connotations or not. Indeed, the confusion which so often exists in federal countries over the extent to which state or federal governments are able to determine education

POSSIBLE LEVELS OF AUTHORITY IN REGIONAL PLANNING IN UNITARY AND FEDERAL STATES



policy is a major impediment to the full participation of education authorities in regional planning. Federal constitutions in the OECD Member countries typically give state rather than federal governments the power to pass laws relating to the provision of education. Thus, legally, it is state governments, or perhaps local authorities to whom they may delegate the power, which decide such questions as where and when schools and universities will be established, what will be included in the curriculum, who will teach and under what conditions, what the years of compulsory attendance will be and what forms of vocational education will be available. For the most part, the states are extremely jealous of this education power, and have resisted strongly what they regard as federal incursions into the area. This situation is well illustrated in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany. Bavaria, for example, is absolutely against any further encroachment on the independence of the Land in educational and cultural matters. The retention of overall responsibility for cultural matters and education by the Länder may even be considered as the basic factor in their sovereignty.

Yet in almost every federal country in the OECD the last two decades have seen a substantial growth in the education responsibilities and commitments of the national government. The main reasons for this trend have been the relative financial supremacy of federal governments, increasing recognition that their economic management responsibilities give them a direct stake in many aspects of education policy, and the tendency to look to them for the solution to such major social problems as inequality of educational opportunities for minority groups and disadvantaged regions. In the case of Germany, the importance of a 1969 constitutional amendment - significantly placed in the context of a set of amendments named "Finanzverbesserungsreform" (restructuring financial responsibilities) should be pointed out. Until then, the scope of federal authority was limited to regulating non-school vocational training, i.e. mainly apprenticeships (except for its day-release school part), support of certain areas of scientific research (especially "big science"); certain regulations on admission to the health professions, and on admissions and careers in the public service in relation to educational qualifications.

The main new responsibilities given to the Bund by the 1969 amendment in the field of education were:

- to provide 50 per cent of capital investment in higher education; special provision was made to secure co-ordinated planning on a national scale jointly by the Bund and Länder.
- to pass "framework legislation on the structure of higher education".
- to pass legislation on financial support to persons in education and vocational training.

Finally, provision was made for Bund and Länder to co-operate in educational planning and research on the basis of mutual agreements.

A further example of constitutional change which has increased federal responsibility for educational matters is provided by Australia. In 1946 the Australian Constitution was amended to give the federal parliament power to legislate with respect to "benefits to students". This has led to wide-ranging programmes of student assistance which have made the federal government the virtual guarantor of education to many Australians. There is thus a tendency for people in such countries to look to their federal government as a source of educational initiative in redressing what are regarded by them as regional educational disadvantages.

Of course, even when the constitution of federal countries has not provided such apparently open opportunities for direct central government 'interference' in this long-established area of state or

Länder responsibility there has been a strong recent trend by reformist federal governments to deliberately use schools (and the education system as a whole) as a mechanism for social and economic change. Clear examples of this have been the United States Government in the early years of the Johnson Administration, and the Australian Government under the Whitlam leadership. This reformist approach has led federal governments into many sharp policy conflicts with state and local governments and their education authorities.

It is not only federal countries which experience power struggles over who has responsibility for education planning and development. Many unitary States, where tradition rather than formal constitutions have dictated a decentralised pattern of educational administration, are also showing an increasing trend for central governments to take over education responsibilities from local authorities for precisely the same reasons as have motivated federal governments. Unitary States may not be subject to rigid federal-type constitutions, nor the legal conflicts which may emerge from disagreements between levels of government which have sovereign powers within a country. However, most have at least one level of government additional to the national one, and potentiality for disagreement between them over education policies abounds. An obvious example of this is the recent conflict in Britain between the national government and many local authorities over the implementation of national policy for the elimination of grammar schools. Conflicts between levels of government over who has responsibility for formulating education policy are not conducive to the participation of education authorities in regional planning activities. They obstruct the harmony and co-operation which are necessary to integrated planning. They reinforce the tendency of education to remain a self-contained entity, operating without substantial reference to the other policy areas which are fundamental elements in regional development plans. This obstruction to integrated planning is emphasized in Technical Report No. 4 on Switzerland. The cantons are responsible for educational planning within the cantons, a situation which, though having democratic merits, often leads to a seeming lack of integration of educational with social and economic planning. In recent years this situation has led to a call for intra- or supra-cantonal co-operation in educational matters, though as yet the contribution of education to regional development has not been fully appreciated.

A further reason for the traditional absence of education from regional planning activities in most Member countries is the relative weakness of most departments of government with specific responsibility for regional development policies. Such departments are

typically 'high' on responsibilities which involve co-ordination, co-operation, and dispensing advice, but 'low' on resources to distribute, and on real power to redirect the priorities to other departments. It is also the case that regional planning in most Member countries has traditionally had a low political priority. Almost by definition, regional policies have been directed mainly at economically-depressed, and often isolated and sparsely-populated areas. These often have little real political impact in the overall structure of government. Parliaments are prepared to allocate development and relief funds to disadvantaged areas, but it is often true that those regions which are most industrialised, most economically advantaged, and with greatest population concentrations, have been most favoured in the expenditure decisions of governments. Departments concerned with regional development policies, where the latter are primarily oriented toward regions with major economic and social problems, are, in a sense, operating against the established political pattern. In addition, the diverse nature of the interests of departments of regional development contributes to their weakness in the system of government. The multi-faceted nature of regional policies ensures they will cut across the policies which are enunciated by single-purpose departments such as education. The result is that relations between special-purpose departments (such as education) and those dealing with regional development policies are often 'cool'. This is partly a protective reaction and partly a belief by special-purpose departments that they have much greater expertise and responsibility in particular areas than the more 'generalist' regional development departments. Another factor which has weakened the position of departments of regional planning and development is the implicit threat they pose to the autonomy of various levels of government. Such a department of a central government inevitably tends to impinge upon the activities of specific departments within state or local governments.

POSSIBLE MEASURES TO IMPROVE INTERACTION

Measures to improve the interaction between education policies and the requirements of multi-faceted regional planning have inevitably to reflect the realities in each national situation under the broad parameters sketched out above. A first group of measures might be concerned with possibilities for halting, or even reversing the trend towards increased uniformity and standardization of educational services across a nation. Communities would have to be persuaded that education programmes specially tailored to the needs of a particular region are not inferior to those available

elsewhere; that under certain circumstances, entry requirements to institutions of higher education, to the professions, and to employment can vary from region to region; that a child is not being disadvantaged by being educated in such a way that he or she is particularly suited to further study and work in the region in which he chooses to live, without, at the same time, inhibiting his chances for mobility. This would call for new and imaginative approaches to the whole problem of credentialism, so that the need for nationally-accepted standards is reconciled to the particular requirements of specific regions.

A second group of measures might be directed towards loosening up the 'closed' nature of the education system. Such measures might involve increasing the inputs into educational policy/planning from sectors other than the professional educationalists, reorganising large systems of education into smaller and more manageable units which are closer to the actual point-of-service delivery, and providing much more opportunity for direct community participation in educational planning. The potential contribution of such community participation is demonstrated by the Yugoslav as well as the Italian experience described in Technical Reports Nos. 11 and 12. In a more general way the government of education would be encouraged to dilute its single-purpose form and be brought into closer relationship to the multi-sector government of society. In this context, the observations in Technical Report No. 2 on the Albury-Wodonga Region in Australia are especially relevant. It is pointed out that progression to intersectoral planning requires a different approach from that traditionally adopted by professional education planners. "The process of providing for participation at regional level and the consequent identification of needs which are perceived to be unique to that region encourages examination of educational structures at least which have been constructed over a period of time when such requirements were not considered. Participation in educational planning and intersectoral planning immediately questions the relevance of centralized and strictly specialized government agencies."

Thirdly, the constitutional and legal position with respect to where responsibility for educational and regional planning lies could be more clearly established as a means of resolving the tension between national and local initiatives for educational and regional planning. This may require agreements on constitutional amendments and the passage of new enabling laws in most countries. These are extremely difficult to achieve in practice, mainly because, in a political world, they involve the surrendering of power by entrenched authorities, be they bureaucracies or legislatives. However, it is now clear that for successful regional development policies to be

devised and implemented in most countries, a co-operative and multi-faceted relationship must be established between central (or national) and local (or state) governments, and that both must be accepted as having a legitimate voice in such specific policy areas as education. In more precise terms, constitutional and legal provisions must make it possible, in federal as well as in unitary systems of government, for State and federal or local and national governments to plan together for the identification of a region regardless of what boundaries it crosses, for them to plan with authority for the establishment of particular economic activities within it, and for the development of an educational provision which will properly meet its particular manpower and general societal needs. The same constitutional and legal provisions must make it possible for these various levels of government to bring together for planning and implementation purposes all the sectors of government involved in regional development.

REGIONALISATION OF EDUCATION

Although the above are perhaps obvious steps which might be taken to improve the degree to which education is made part of general regional planning, and to improve regional development policies themselves, it should not be thought that the question of regionalising education systems as such has been ignored by education authorities. Indeed, this has been an important issue in the organisation and administration of education, though one which has been considered largely in the context of the internal restructuring of the education system rather than from the broader viewpoint of enhancing its contribution to regional development.

"Regionalisation of education" has several interpretations in the literature, though in general it means the redistribution of power over education policy making and/or implementation to authorities which relate to specific areas of a country. Regionalisation can mean action by a central government to devolve power over and responsibility for education policy, services and facilities to regional authorities, or it can mean the gathering together of the educational activities of smaller units and placing them under a larger regionally-based authority. No necessary relationship exists between the education regions of a country and the 'natural' regions into which it may divide. Education regions may be determined by factors which may have little to do with those elements which in combination constitute a 'natural' region. These factors include administrative convenience, proximity to particular services and institutions, and constraints imposed by professional unions. Also,

when an education region is formed, its autonomy may be severely limited. It may still have to conform to the legal requirements of a distant central authority in such matters as years of compulsory attendance at school, the core curriculum, and the certification of teachers. It may have to conform to nationwide standard administrative procedures and forms of reporting and financial accounting. The nature of an education region may be distorted by the presence of a powerful university, or by the necessity to adapt to the difficulties of obtaining a necessary supply of professional personnel. An education region may also be prevented from conforming to the boundaries of a 'natural' region by the need which may be felt to retain close ties between small individual school communities and the central decision-making process. The result may be small "sub-regions" rather than the formation of genuine education regions.

Perhaps the most important factor which may prevent education regions assuming boundaries consistent with those of natural regions is the politico-administrative structure of most countries. In federal countries the constitutionally-fixed boundaries of states or provinces rarely conform to natural regions, yet they define to a large extent the kind of education regions which can be formed. In unitary States there are not the same constitutional barriers, but nevertheless it is usually the case that the structure and jurisdictional areas of local government, which have major responsibility for education policy, do not fit into the natural regional pattern of the country.

Whatever the size and location of education regions, and the reasons for their formation, substantial variations will be found in the powers exercised by regional education authorities. These variations are a product of the means and mechanisms which are used to achieve redistribution of power. Three broad categories of such mechanisms are discussed here, viz. deconcentration, decentralisation, and consolidation.

a) Deconcentration

In many countries the regionalisation of education systems has taken the form of deconcentration. By this is meant that responsibility for implementing policy is delegated to lower-level authorities, but basic decision-making power remains with the central government. A recent French study defined deconcentration as transferring powers of decision and co-ordination to the local representatives of the various administrations, who remain directly responsible to their superiors.(1) Deconcentration in education systems

1) Th. Malan, "The Place of Education in Inter-sectoral Planning in France", Inter-sectoral Educational Planning, OECD, Paris, 1977.

is usually motivated primarily by a desire to improve the efficiency with which policies are implemented. Lines of communication between authorities who direct resources and the point of action are reduced, technical adjustments can be more quickly accomplished, and there is a likelihood that the educational programmes which flow from broad central policy decisions will more precisely fit local needs and aspirations. In addition, central authorities are shielded from detailed administrative problems which it is believed can and should be solved at the local or regional levels, and are able to concentrate their energies on the essential tasks of determining general policy.

Thus, deconcentration is a mechanism for increasing the efficiency of an education system in respect of both the formulation of policy and its implementation. It implies a continued commitment to what are seen to be the essential advantages of centralised educational planning. This planning may be at the national level in the case of a unitary system of government or at the state or provincial level in the case of a federal system. The Albury-Wodonga model in Australia, as described in Technical Report No. 2 seems to be an unusual hybrid of these characteristics.

b) Decentralisation

Decentralisation as a form of regionalisation implies a much more fundamental redistribution of power within the education system, or the system of government as a whole. It has been widely discussed in the literature, and has been of recurring interest to scholars and administrators. In a report published by the Ministry of Education and Sciences in the Netherlands, decentralisation is defined as:

> "the delegation of duties and powers by the central government to local authorities and other bodies. There are two kinds: administrative or territorial decentralisation where a set of duties and functions is delegated to the lower level. Delegation of this kind assumes the existence of a municipal, provincial or regional policy mechanism. And functional decentralisation which is in principle the delegation of only one duty or power without the delegation of administrative responsibility on a territorial basis".(1)

Decentralisation is a transfer of power (rather than simply responsibility) by central governments to bodies which are more or less legally independent.

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1) Contours of a future education system in the Netherlands, Ministry of Education and Science, The Hague, 1975, p. 220.

The main motivation for the decentralisation of education systems is the belief that it leads to greater efficiency, sounder education policies, a more satisfactory degree of co-ordination and integration with other policy areas, and a much better relationship between those who plan and deliver education services, and those who consume them. In Technical Report No. 10 on Norway the author summarises in a practical fashion what are regarded as the main advantages of decentralisation for Norway:

> "There is a general feeling in Norway that the negative aspects of a centralised system could be numerous. One such aspect is the time factor: as the central authorities normally have to rely on bodies in the regions to collect relevant information and prepare the ultimate decisions for the central bodies there may be a lot of regionalised work involved anyway. This procedure often entails duplication of work, and consequently a loss of time. More important, if the policy-making and decision-making rest with the centralised bodies, the local organs are restricted to an auxiliary role which does not stimulate their potential for innovation and initiative. They may also regard themselves rather more as representatives of the central body in question, than as conveyors of regional and local premises and priorities in their own right".

Implicitly, decentralisation is a rejection of the idea that prime responsibility for formulating education policy should rest with central authorities. On the other hand, decentralisation to the regional (as distinct from local) level also represents a belief that local communities may be unable to adequately handle some of the main tasks of education planning. The region is seen to be a larger and more viable unit of governance than the individual district or municipality. The adoption of a decentralisation policy, and the consequent restructuring of the processes of administration and policy-making in the education system, implies a rejection of the idea that it is possible or desirable to have a system which is uniform in its objectives, programmes and activities; it rather represents an acceptance of the fact that "a variety of value structures will exist inside the organisation and influence behaviour in ways which are not fully compatible with any centrally-conceived goal structure".(1) However, it has been pointed out recently that the concept of decentralisation is in some ways a paradoxical one. The OECD Examiners of Norwegian education policy stated the issue as follows: "Undoubtedly, the only source of decentralization decisions carrying adequate authority to have them accepted is the

1) K. Eide, "Concepts Toward Decentralised Collaboration", Intersectoral Educational Planning, OECD, Paris, 1977, pp. 58-59.

central government. This leaves us with the paradoxical question whether decentralization which is initiated by central authority does not defeat itself. How can a strongly centralised system transform itself into its opposite? Is centralization a trend which can be reversed? Or can central authority only be relinquished if it is seized, not given away (usually a process more painful than central authorities are willing to endure)?"(1)

Decentralisation of planning mechanisms is often undertaken because of a commitment to the value of increased participation in the process by those most directly affected by education policies: parents, students, local citizens.(2) It may be argued that the promotion of 'increased participation' is potentially the most important contribution of education to regional development policies. Indeed, as is pointed out in Technical Report No. 10 on Norway, the concept of decentralisation is closely linked to the concept of 'democratisation'. A policy aimed at democratisation involves the implementation of certain obvious measures:

"- A strengthening of the autonomy and economy of the local communities.
- Increased influence of elected representative bodies on planning and development.
- Establishment of local committees on sub-municipal level to create a direct 'grassroot' influence.
- Introduction of direct elections of such assemblies, and an upgrading of these assemblies to be major political decision-making bodies."

The democratisation process has been an important movement in many aspects of life in OECD countries in recent years. It has been directed principally at broadening the range of people who participate in decision-making of a 'policy-type'. In industry, this has taken the form of giving employees the opportunity to participate in the management decisions of the enterprises in which they work. In government it has meant the setting up of many forms of advisory machinery which allow private citizens, representatives of pressure groups, politicians, experts, and civil servants to come together to work out policies of consensus for submission to governments and parliaments. It has also meant revising structures of government and giving much greater importance to those levels which in both a geographic sense and in terms of the services they render are closest to the people. Local government has become very much more

1) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, op. cit., p. 39.

2) The Yugoslav system, governed by "self-governing educational collectivities" and by "intercommunal collectivities" offers an example of the most complete model of decentralisation. Volume II, Technical Report No. 11.

significant in most Member countries in recent years in its political status, resources used, and the range of services it has offered to communities, simply because it is closer to where people live and work, and is an authority they usually feel directly able to influence. These developments in the decision-making processes, which cover many aspects of the daily lives of people, have been largely the result of strong political pressure for greater participation. They have not been taken solely on the grounds of increased efficiency for the more economic use of resources. Indeed, it is frequently suggested that this participatory trend has slowed down decision-making, has made the policy process much more complicated and has added to costs.

In the education field the result of this participation movement has been that administrative and policy-making structures have undergone profound changes in many Member countries. In individual schools and school systems as a whole the main manifestation of this is the much more active policy role accorded to parents, teachers and pupils.(1) Their enhanced power has been at the expense of officials who have traditionally controlled institutions and systems, and, to some extent, of Ministries which were previously able to make decisions virtually without challenge. At a national policy level perhaps the most significant aspect of this has been the growth in strength of teacher and parent organisations. They have become powerful pressure groups in the political spectra of OECD countries, and as such able to insist on a major role in the policy process.(2) Ironically, it can be argued that the growth in the power of teacher and parent organisations is in fact a negative force as far as genuine decentralisation of education systems and the fostering of 'participation', are concerned. The OECD Examiners, in their Review of National Policies for Education in Norway, drew attention to this danger in the following terms: "Centralization of control over education has led to a concomitant centralization of the interest groups most involved in education. This is particularly true of the teachers' organisations. This process of centralization is beyond the government's control and poses a serious threat to the implementation of new policies".(2) The power of teacher organisations has been strengthened by the close links which often exist between them and the trade union movement as a whole. In higher education the demand for participation or power-sharing in the policy process has been widespread. Here pressure has come mainly from students and those staff members previously excluded from such activities.

The rationale for this development is summarised in Technical

1) For a detailed description of this, see Volume II, Technical Report No. 12 on Italy.

2) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

Report No. 10 in the analysis of Norwegian developments in higher education: "The main principle is that the curricula and everyday decisions about the organisation of the various studies should be taken by faculty, students and staff members on a democratic basis in the appropriate elected body. Such bodies also prepare budget proposals and long-term and intermediate-term planning data and premises for further discussion by the regional boards." In the case of higher education, there has been less pressure from what might be called the 'outside community' for a participatory role than has occurred with the school systems.

It is natural that this pressure for wider participation in policy-making, and its acceptance as a value, should lead to a movement towards regionalisation of education. The 'education region' is a practical response to such demands. It is a logical way to match the pressure for as many interested parties as possible to participate in educational decision-making with the need to utilise scarce resources with maximum effectiveness. This is especially the case in countries with large areas which are sparsely populated. However, from the viewpoint of the place of education in regional development policies, the type of participation which has been envisaged in most Member countries is narrow. It is often confined to those who have daily contact with education institutions - mainly parents, teachers and students - and as such does not produce the degree of policy integration which is necessary for optimum regional development. While 'participation' is a value in itself and a way of achieving a proper degree of accountability in the work of education institutions, it needs to be broadly conceived if it is to contribute to the development of regions; participants must include not only those immediately affected by the education system but also those who contribute to and are influenced by broadly-based regional development policies. The experience in the Appalachian Region of the United States exemplifies these conclusions, as is so clearly stated in Technical Report No. 5:

> "The most salient lesson learned from the Appalachian experience - that the community at the grass-roots level must be afforded an opportunity to assess its educational needs, fashion its own response, and, depending upon the magnitude of the needed effort, elicit the requisite assistance from various levels of government - suggests a major dictum: That education must no longer be an exclusive province of educational agencies, but receive input from a variety of individuals and institutions, with emphasis on governmental organizations that look to the education system for providing them and other key sectors of society with manpower and other resources. Such input

is particularly vital in the light of an ever-changing economy, calling periodically for the development of new skills and the abandonment of old ones, and the mobility of the American family that, in recent history, has reversed the pattern of preceding years and emigrated from major metropolitan areas to small towns and rural communities, burdening the latter with a demand for new and expanded services. Obviously, an entrenched and inflexible educational system cannot cope with such changes. New institutional mechanisms are needed to meet emerging needs, e.g., the regional education agencies sponsored by the Appalachian Regional Commission that have developed cost-effective specialized services that individual school systems in their multicounty service area could not afford. But regionalism cannot stop at subregional or state boundaries, but must transcend the latter where massive educational problems (e.g., adult functional illiteracy in Appalachia) call for a regionwide effort. By the same token, the Federal government must create more flexible mechanisms for providing effective support toward the solution of regional problems."

Perhaps a final point should be made about the relationship between the decentralisation of education systems (to a regional structure) and the assumption by education of a proper place in intersectoral planning. It seems apparent that educational planning on a regional basis must be part of an intersectoral process if it is to make maximum contribution to regional development policies, simply because the latter are so comprehensive in nature. As the Working Party on Regional Development Policies stated:

> "The range of regional policy objectives is wide and comprehends the improvement of living standards in all regions. They cannot therefore be confined to any one aspect of general progress but extend to economic growth, infrastructure and social development, land use and urban planning objectives. We see the best hope for the future of regional policies in a comprehensive integration of objectives through related regional and national strategies based on assessments of prospective, rather than past, changes in the underlying conditions of population growth, technology and trade relations and people's aspirations and preferences which govern what is desirable, feasible and attainable."(1)

For education planners and the systems they serve and administer to be part of an intersectoral process focused on regional development policies, certain fundamental organisational changes would need

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1) Re-appraisal of Regional Policies in OECD Countries, op. cit., p. 140.

to be made in many Member countries. Such organisational changes will not of course overcome all the obstacles to intersectoral planning. Recent studies have in fact shown that the divisions between public authorities and their operations are so fundamental that the achievement of integrated planning on a systematic basis may be impossible in most countries.(1)

The most obvious organisational policy which might be adopted is one of real decentralisation of general planning and administrative power by central governments to the regional level. Co-operation between the various areas of public administration at the regional level is impossible unless regional authorities exist, and highly unlikely unless they have been given major powers. Eide summarises the problem:

> "Integrated actions by schools, libraries, cultural organisations, adult education organisations, etc., are in principle regarded as very desirable. Yet, as long as each of such organisations and institutions have their place within a separate national hierarchy, the willingness to enter into such local collaboration, and to accept the outcome of decisions by local authorities has very narrow limits. Local co-ordination can only be achieved by cutting separate vertical lines of control and support, and inserting instead one single vertical line from the local co-ordinating body."(2)

The following elements are essential to educational decentralisation policies: in the first place, there must be clear control over resources given to any new regional authority. This control must be wide-ranging, and must be seen by the community in which the authority operates to be final. Secondly, the new authority must be able to resist, where necessary, unwarranted pressures from powerful, centrally-based pressure groups which may move into the influence space vacated by the central education authority. Thirdly, the new authority must be responsible for a comprehensive range of education services, as otherwise it will remain subject to the need for some central authority to continue to exercise a strong co-ordinating role. Fourthly, the new authority must reflect close participation by the affected community in its planning and implementation activities; it therefore must be demonstrably different in structure from the central education authority which it has replaced. Fifthly, whilst adhering to the commitment to be different, to be close to the educational needs and wishes of the local community, and to be fully responsible for allocating resources, a decentralised

1) Inter-sectoral Educational Planning, op. cit.

2) K. Eide, "Concepts Toward Decentralised Collaboration", Inter-sectoral Educational Planning, op. cit., p. 58.

education authority must also be prepared to identify and adapt to what is the national education interest, and what should be done to to relate to the needs and interests of other regions.

c) Consolidation

The other main mechanism which has been used to achieve regionalisation in education systems has been known as consolidation. This has been a development of very great significance in many countries, and has started from the opposite premise to the decentralisation movement. Consolidation usually takes two basic and related forms. It can mean simply a gathering together of individual schools and other educational institutions into units of larger size supposedly offering a greater range and depth of educational services. The closure of one-teacher rural schools and the transportation of children by school bus to larger centres is an example of this kind of consolidation. Consolidation can also mean the abolition of particular local school districts or educational systems and their combination into larger more comprehensive units servicing what might be called regions. Such consolidation has had considerable impact on the pattern of governance of education in many Member countries. In the United States, for example, the number of public school districts shrank from 128,000 in 1930 to 16,960 in 1972, at a time when enrolments in schools more than trebled. The consolidation movement has been regarded by some as the most important single organisational policy change in the education system of the United States in this century:

> "The most successfully implemented educational policy of the past fifty years has been the consolidation of rural schools and school districts .... This policy of rural school and district consolidation was implemented so successfully primarily because of a consensus among influential policy-makers that it represented a reform of enormous potential for solving most of the problems long considered essential to rural education"(1).

Consolidation, it was thought, would produce economies of scale and greater efficiencies in school systems. It was also thought that it would improve the quality of education. Facilities would be newer and better equipped; teachers better educated and more specialised; curriculum choices would be much wider. The result of these better learning opportunities would be to improve the life chances of the recipients, and hence make a major contribution to the realisation of equality of opportunity. It was accepted by the proponents of

1) Jonathan P. Sher and Rachel B. Tompkins, Economy, Efficiency and Equality: The Myths of Rural School and District Consolidation, NIE, Washington D.C., 1976, p. 1.

consolidation that there were certain disadvantages associated with it. Perhaps the three most obvious were the necessity it imposed for children to go to distant, unfamiliar schools; the reduction or obliteration of direct local community involvement in control of the schools and school system; and the removal of the education institution as a formative influence on the general life of the local community. A careful analysis of these problems, and a description of new ways of overcoming them in a highly centralised system of government is presented in Technical Report No. 3 on France. This study focuses on the Massif Central region of France where an education programme has been devised which aims to adapt education to the milieu so that the child will not feel cut off from his environment, and to favour the integration of the child into worthwhile economic activities in his region.

There is now a growing body of evidence repudiating consolidation as a sound administrative policy. It is argued that it has actually produced diseconomies of scale, inefficiency, and that the benefits it has brought are far outweighed by the disadvantages which have always been associated with it, but which have become more evident in recent times.(1)

As an alternative to the consolidation of school districts into educational regions, the suggestion is now being made, especially in countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States, that particular educational programmes be regionalised. A range of services can be provided by regional units to small education systems: "The underlying premise is that resources can be brought to children, rather than forcing children to go to resources. The benefits of smallness can be coupled with the benefits of specialisation".(1) An example of this type of development is given in Technical Report No. 5 on the education programmes of the Appalachian Regional Commission in the United States. It refers to Commission support for Regional Education Service Agencies (RESAs): "RESAs will continue to serve their primary capacity of offering cost-effective areawide services in the areas of education and educational logistics (e.g., special education, gifted and talented programs, media repair, cooperative purchasing, etc.) that cannot be provided by local education agencies because of the lack of fiscal or manpower resources. It is also hoped that RESAs will perform a catalytic role in opening up the educational system by promoting the interfacing of diverse educational institutions; encouraging community involvement to include both educators and non-educators (with the latter drawn from business, industry, labor, and public officialdom); and cooperating

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1) See the analysis of J.P. Sher and R.B. Tompkins, op. cit.

with local Development Districts in education planning and programming within the context of the Areawide Action Program".

Whatever its merits and defects, consolidation as a form of regionalisation has nearly always taken place within the education system rather than as part of some broad movement in the reorganisation of government services; it has rarely been conceived as a mechanism whereby the education system might 'fit' more appropriately into the overall development pattern of a region. Also, units of educational government that have been developed as a result of consolidation, have usually not been large enough to correspond to the position of 'natural' regions and at first sight some of the characteristics of consolidation - notably the discouragement of 'participation' by the local community in school policy and activities - are inconsistent with some of the normal objectives of regional policies. Nevertheless, certain advantages of consolidation for regional development need to be noted: it makes possible the larger institution which is able to have considerable direct impact on the life of the region. It encourages the social integration of people from within a region by bringing them together from their often isolated local communities, and allows for the development of professional opportunities which improve the quality and stability of the teaching force of the area. It fosters a sense of identity with the region in which people live, and helps to offset some of the attraction of the big cities to rural dwellers. Consolidation also makes it a good deal easier to achieve integration of education with government services in other sectors on a regional basis.

In conclusion to this chapter, it is apparent that devising and implementing regional development policies is no easy task, nor is the successful integration of education's potential contribution into such policies. In this chapter the prime focus has been upon organisational problems. In this context it is well established that the authorities in most Member countries are likely to be in a weak position to engage in regional planning. Resources currently allocated to them are usually minimal, and they lack the capacity within the framework of government to guarantee a high degree of intersectoral planning and integrated activities in the interest of regional development. This organisational weakness is a product of many elements, including restrictive legislation, narrowly defined constitutions, jealously guarded administrative jurisdictions, strong traditions of central and single-purpose planning and administration. There are also intangible personal and political problems, such as the rivalries and jealousies of bureaucrats in dealing with their peers in other departments and the fact that many planning decisions

which have vital regional development implications are made on the basis of almost irrational political grounds.

A first requirement for progress in this area would be for governments to assign high priority to comprehensive regional development, and to define in very precise and unambivalent terms their objectives for such policies. The position and contribution of education would need to be defined within the framework of such comprehensive regional planning. For this to be done, operational objectives for the education system, and the means by which they are determined, would need to be considerably broadened. In the context of the foregoing organisational analysis this means that:

i) a much wider range of people than is traditionally the case would need to be given a role in devising education policy; the range of such people would need to match the multi-sectoral nature of sound regional development policies;

ii) the decision-making structures for education systems would have to be made to conform more to regional configurations; this would almost certainly involve both the devolution of authority from a centralised source of power to a regional level, and the consolidation of local and perhaps fragmented authorities into regional units;

iii) a much greater degree of harmony between and integration of the various divisions within the education system would need to be achieved; the traditional divisions between, say, secondary, technical and higher education must be broken down, at least insofar as they impede the framing and implementation of sound regional development policies; this would require organisational structures which ensure a necessary degree of intersectoral planning within the education system, and would almost certainly mean the loss of some autonomy by individual divisions and their heads;

iv) as far as the actual activities of education are concerned, it would be necessary to undertake considerable reforms in such areas as staffing policies, the curriculum, access, utilisation of community resources and community involvement, and to encourage continuous research and evaluation of how the various measures being adopted respond to the changing needs of the people actually served by education in their specific local or regional settings.

CONCLUSION

This report on the role of education in regional development has been designed to provide a general framework for the consideration of overall policy trends and issues in this area. It is based to a large extent on a survey of the specific approaches and experiences in the regionalisation of education policies undertaken in some Member countries. Its purpose is to provide an initial analysis of the issues arising and of recently recorded trends in OECD countries and in this way provide a clarifying framework within which policies can be discussed and further analyses undertaken. It is by no means exhaustive and deals mainly with:

i) the functions of education at regional level, particularly its relations with employment and migration;
ii) regional inequalities in education and
iii) planning and organisational issues arising from the regionalisation of education policies.

The role of education at regional level obviously cannot be dissociated from its other functions at other levels - notably individual and national. The regionalisation of education is not an objective in itself. The desire to place education in its regional and socio-geographical context is a response to new demands and specific objectives of educational policy. It has led to the elaboration of new types of geographical allocation of resources and of planning facilities and programmes designed to eliminate the effects of distance from the home and the social environment, and to take account of the economic, cultural and political realities of each region as well as of new decision-making models which are closer to users. But this development has raised delicate problems of compatibility and co-ordination between regional and national objectives and has often met with resistance and conflicts of interest generated by the transfers of power and responsibility inherent in any regionalisation.

Regional development strategies and regionalisation of education policies

The regional imbalances created or accentuated by trends in production and trade have led Member countries to pay increased

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attention to the development of regional policies. The aims and instruments of these policies have evolved during the last 20 years. Originally designed to stimulate areas in stagnation or in process of conversion, these policies have been extended with a view to reducing regional disparities in employment and income and to bringing about more co-ordinated regional planning at the overall national level. More recently, they have also endeavoured to take into account the social and cultural aspects of regional development. The present recession has changed the pattern of these disparities and has set up new imbalances, bringing to the forefront problems relating to employment and unemployment. These policies, of course, have long-term objectives, but their results, although difficult to assess, seem to have been very limited and to have been compromised by the recession. They also come up against the persistence of regional imbalances, unequal regional development and frequently the absence of an overall strategy (not only economic) for regional development.

In an increasing number of Member countries, education occupies an important place in regional development strategies. In the past, education's main function was often considered - when it was considered at all - to be the economic one of training the skilled manpower associated with material investment. Some experiences (the Appalachians and the Tennessee Valley in the United States for instance) mentioned in the report show, however, that it has also been regarded as an infrastructural investment and as a precondition rather than as a means of development. Several more recent projects on the development of mountain areas in Switzerland and in France or new towns in Australia consider education as a service sector to be developed and adapted to a broader range of regional needs; as such, education is regarded as one of the components of social development which should be supplied to all users on an equitable basis.

The economic recession has led to a reduction in transfers of activity or industrial installations and in job creation. It has slowed down and sometimes even reversed migratory flows. This has led to a strengthening of "policies aimed at encouraging development based on local opportunities, resources, skills and enterprise, including the massive training and retraining of labour, rather than relying on a substantial movement of industry from elsewhere."(1) In this connection, the attempt to match education and employment more effectively at regional level is an increasingly important aspect of regional policies, concerned as they are to fully integrate education and training into their development strategies. For this purpose, at regional level, measures for guidance and general and

1) Regional policies, The Current Outlook, OECD, Paris, 1977, page 80.

vocational training in the school system and in industry are increasing as the new and selective measures directed at specific groups such as young people seeking their first job, disadvantaged or handicapped persons.

Independently of these regional policies, the education authorities during the last few years have adopted large-scale measures for regionalising their own policies, for instance, as regards the location of schools, geographical distribution of resources, reduction of regional disparities in education and adaptation of school curricula to meet regional demands. There are numerous experiences in this field; they depend mainly on the selected policy objectives and the administrative structures peculiar to each country. They come into conflict with the existence of uniform national norms as regards management, curricula or certificates and diplomas.

Study of the numerous experiences and approaches undertaken in Member countries and referred to in this report and in the accompanying Technical Reports produces a wealth of information; but, owing to their extreme diversity and the fact that most of them are at the project stage or in process of execution, it is impossible to establish typologies, make evaluations or assess the effects. A fairly clear distinction may be established between:

i) educational measures included in the regional development plans or programmes designed by those responsible for regional policy;
ii) measures within the educational sector undertaken at regional level by those responsible for this sector.

Each of these two approaches may concern all regions making up the country or particular regions or areas faced with specific problems.

Education and regional development

The assumption that education is a component of regional development is not disputed; but it does not necessarily follow that one can assume the transposition to the regional scale of the functions which education performs within the national context. The regions, which can be defined on the basis of various criteria, are in fact "open" spaces subject to migration and exchanges and characterised by their own economic structures with varying rates of change and unequal development levels. The relationship between the education system and the regional socio-economic environment is therefore very complex and subject to many factors such as the respective evolution of educational structures and economic structures or the configuration of the educational network, itself linked to cultural traditions or to past or present regional employment prospects.

This relationship can be considered at several levels. Two conceptions may be distinguished, though it is not always possible to show how they link up or are compatible with each other:

i) A current and priority approach tending to reduce education to its function of preparation for employment;
ii) A broader and less strictly functional approach tending to make the education system a component of, or a driving force in, regional development.

a) Relations between education and employment at regional level

A brief analysis of these relations highlights various types of regional situations according to existing job opportunities, the accumulated stock of qualifications and the means for adjusting the one to the other, in particular, through migration. These various types of imbalance between qualifications and regional jobs have led to the elaboration of policy measures of various kinds, e.g.:

i) A shortage of qualifications in relation to job opportunities encourages action to influence the pattern of outputs from the education system by the increased provision of technical courses and adult vocational training activities;
ii) A surplus of skilled manpower may lead to action to encourage worker mobility (particularly of young persons) or to create jobs and encourage employers to recruit with a view to employing job seekers locally;
iii) The combined lack of job opportunities and qualifications leads to the planning of joint action for training and transfer of activities, as a means of avoiding the depopulation and decline of the region.

An inventory of measures of this type adopted or introduced in Member countries would be of only limited interest. The analysis of the relations between education and employment at regional level leads rather to the need for designing a planning framework which would:

- Provide a statistical observation and research system on the nature of these relations in order to increase the knowledge of regional employment situations, the quantitative and qualitative opportunities offered by the regional educational system and the mechanisms governing the adjustment of supply and demand;
- Improve methods of forecasting output flows from the education system and recruitment needs on the regional labour market in order to identify (without necessarily measuring) the risks of surpluses and shortages;

- Intensify exchanges between educational and vocational services at regional level; specify the information required by the regional authority responsible for educational policy in order to adapt the content of training and provide effective orientation and guidance to students; and associate employment services and regional employers with the implementation of this information system.

Regional planning of this kind should make for the elaboration of very pragmatic, selective and diversified solutions, less dependent than at present on national choices. This approach would seem all the more timely as, following the recession, regional policies are increasingly geared to developing the region's potential (including human resources) and to creating jobs instead of encouraging activity transfers and manpower mobility.

Such an approach, which turns the educational sector into a simple production unit for qualified personnel, is both limited and highly contested. It needs to be supplemented by a more global approach which would take into account other demands of an economic, social and cultural nature.

b) Relations between education and social and cultural development

This approach is based on a broader conception of the functions of an education system which is both

i) economic: in addition to providing qualifications, education creates jobs, attracts activities, distributes wages and consumes goods and services;

ii) social and cultural: educational institutions undertake research of regional interest, disseminate information, provide community services, participate in adult training and in regional cultural and political life.

The recent extension of these various functions of education fits into the general pattern of measures aiming at opening up education to social and cultural life. It stems from the movement to make educational institutions accessible to local and regional realities and from the desire of these institutions to meet the numerous demands of the surrounding community, but also from the geographical development of social services and the revival of regional cultures and languages. It would be premature to attempt an evaluation of the experiments conducted in this field which are frequently hampered by obstacles of a cultural and political nature. These experiments are reflected, for instance, in the creation of new institutions (universities or short-cycle higher institutions) which are

essentially region-oriented, in the opening of courses of study (and preparation for degrees) corresponding to regional sectors of activity, in the introduction into primary and secondary school curricula of an elementary knowledge of the regional culture, language and environment, etc. These innovations have sometimes come up against obstacles linked to the existence of national norms, curricula and diplomas or a fear of leading to the "provincialisation" of education.

The particular strategy adopted by national authorities as regards regional development and the existence of regional decision-making powers are decisive factors in the role played by education. This role may vary considerably according to the regional context and according to the objectives selected and may encourage or impede regional development. The organisation and co-ordination of these national objectives with the objectives specific to each region are an important prerequisite for any policy on the regionalisation of education. In this connection, numerous contradictions and incompatibilities arise, as for instance:

i) the concern to encourage mobility and inter-regional migration of workers in order to reduce unemployment (but at the risk of jeopardising future development) on the one hand, and the desire to maintain in their home region the skilled workers likely to attract investment and become a factor in regional development on the other;

ii) the desire to differentiate education and training possibilities with a view to meeting the economic and cultural demands peculiar to the region on the one hand, and the concern to equalise these possibilities and the opportunities of access to education on the other.

Regional disparities in education

In most Member countries the reduction of regional disparities in education is a permanent objective of education policy. The achievement of this comes up against the difficulties of how to measure, and especially how to analyse, the causes and dynamics of inter- and intra-regional disparities. School statistics (which refer to regional units not always appropriate for such an analysis) indicate the persistence of significant disparities. This is both disappointing and surprising, particularly when it is known that social inequalities and regional disparities in income, health and facilities have decreased in the past few years. Furthermore, the available data do not show the internal disparities within the region (between rural and urban areas) or the inequalities in educational results and attainment. Regional disparities in education

are associated with social inequalities, although in a very different manner according to the particular group. Other factors, such as distance, employment and unemployment levels and regional cultural traditions also intervene. The primarily statistical research, and results on the causes of these disparities are unconvincing, and further, more qualitative studies of a historical or ethnographical type could usefully be undertaken.

One of the paradoxes consists in attributing the cause and persistence of these disparities to factors of demand which are difficult to control and in trying to reduce them by acting primarily on the conditions of supply. The problem is in fact much more complicated and involves interactions between supply and demand which remain obscure. Considerable and very diverse efforts have been made to reduce these disparities, and in many cases they have succeeded in checking or thwarting the cumulation accentuation of inequalities. The measures taken are of two kinds:

i) some are designed to equalise and standardize flows of financial and physical resources in order to create identical geographical conditions for education; for instance, the equitable distribution of educational institutions on the basis of school maps, means likely to reduce or make up for the effects of distance (school transport, boarding, etc.), equalisation of qualification levels of teachers, etc.;

ii) other measures are more selective and take account of specific group and regional situations and, by means of mechanisms for allotting additional resources and means of educational differentiation, are designed to compensate for existing handicaps in backward and disadvantaged areas.

The effects of these measures are still unclear, but the purpose of the selected strategy is both to equalise the results of education and to adapt them to regional needs - objectives which are sometimes difficult to reconcile. The choice of financing system and the mechanisms for resource allocation or equalisation are in this respect decisive factors in these strategies; their relationship with the objectives pursued is difficult to grasp. Lastly, the objective of equalising educational conditions aimed at by those responsible for this sector has frequently been pursued separately from other regional development objectives which, by maintaining a regional specialisation of activities, fosters inequalities. Recently adopted programmes for promoting the development of rural or mountainous areas show that this conception is changing and that there has been an increasing effort at co-ordination.

Further undertaking of the problem of regional disparities in education will progress to the extent that:

i) statistical data and research on the extent and causes of intra- and inter-regional qualitative disparities are improved and developed;

ii) school results will no longer be defined in terms of one but of multiple criteria, reflecting the specific value systems and characteristics of the various groups and geographical areas;

iii) an accurate evaluation is made of the regulatory, financial and pedagogical measures affecting supply and demand and designed to equalise resources or to compensate for educational conditions;

iv) the objectives of policies for reducing disparities are co-ordinated with the other objectives concerned with social inequalities and regional development.

Problems of planning and organisation

The regionalisation of education policies may be embedded in constitutional, administrative and financial structures in widely differing ways, depending upon the country in question. The trends we have noted, the means of co-ordinating, delegating and participating in authority, together with the consequent elaboration of appropriate strategies and the setting up of appropriate planning mechanisms, all bear the stamp of these differences. Nevertheless, it would seem possible to identify one common overall problem: in most countries the competent authorities find themselves in a position of relative weakness as far as the promotion of regional educational policies is concerned. This weakness results, basically, from constitutional and administrative constraints. Central governments in both federal and unitary countries have often tended to retain their authority - in certain cases even to take over an aspect of the attributes of local or "state" authorities. This creates conflicts inimical to the implementation of a fully-integrated system of regional planning, reinforces the tendency to resistance or to the isolation of the educational sector and thus to the perpetuation of the autonomy of each administrative level.

However, in certain countries one may note a distinct tendency towards redistribution of powers in the formulation and implementation of educational policies directed towards the regionalisation of educational policy. Such redistribution is effected through a number of procedures such as:

a) deconcentration, aimed at delegating the implementation of policies to local and regional administrative levels;

b) decentralisation, both administrative (and territorial) and functional, leading to a transfer of powers down to responsible, local and regional agencies and accompanied by increased participation (and democratisation) through consultation and decision-making at constituency level and at the level of local education authorities;

c) consolidation of educational institutions which, while making financial economies possible, yet remains controversial.

An evaluation of the various experiences in this field could be useful in enabling us to see the effects and limitations of a policy for the regionalisation of education. Solving the structural and organisational problems is an important prerequisite for implementing such policies and reducing the many obstacles which tend to hamper them. The structural changes to be envisaged should aim at:

i) redefining the functions of the various levels of qualifications and modifying the decision-making structures with a view to extending the responsibilities of the regional authorities and the participation of the regional groups concerned in education;

ii) modifying the internal structures of the school system as regards the organisation of each level and type of studies, staff training and the use of resources in terms of needs and regional situations;

iii) entrusting the regional authorities and groups - within a framework acceptable to the national authorities - with preparing programmes adapted to regional demand so as to adapt the norms defined at national level while guaranteeing equalisation of the quality of services and the opportunities of their users.

The elaboration and implementation of educational regionalisation policies, or policies for the integration of education into regional development plans, is becoming an increasingly important area of action in most Member countries. Such policies take on multiple and heterogeneous forms, depending on the country and on their particular regional characteristics, which reflect marked differences with regard to the aims pursued (and which makes a coherent and clear analysis difficult). The regionalisation of education is never an objective in itself. It is a means for facilitating the attainment of various objectives, either of regional or national interest, within a socio-geographical framework best suited to the pursuit of such objectives (e.g. to correct imbalances in the nation as a whole, an opportunity of educational access or success, or to establish closer links between education-employment prospects). In a number of countries, however, the regional framework is not

considered the most appropriate for the implementation of major educational strategies (for example, structural reforms) or the attainment of global objectives in education.

The enhancement of the role of education in regional policies is slowed down by institutional and administrative obstacles, by the insufficient resources and powers of regional authorities and by the tendency of education systems to operate on the basis of uniform and standardized norms. Progress in this area depends mainly on the will of governments to give increased importance to overall regional development (and not just economic), to clearly identify the objectives of educational policies at this level, and to strengthen decentralisation mechanisms and the regional planning of education.

Such planning mechanisms are by necessity complex and take different forms, depending on the country. As a minimum, however, they should respond to the following functions:

i) facilitate the collection of regional data and make possible the identification - with the participation of regional authorities and representatives of regional groups and communities - of educational needs and regional objectives of education;

ii) ensure the co-ordination of these objectives with those of national educational policies (which are at present often the only objectives taken into account and pursued by means of uniform measures which generally ignore regional differences);

iii) ensure co-ordination of these regional education objectives with inter-sectoral regional policies on employment and social and cultural development, at present often conceived in isolation and lacking co-ordination.

Annex

LIST OF TECHNICAL REPORTS

TECHNICAL REPORTS RELATED TO CHAPTER I

1. Regionalism in the United States: The Tennessee Valley Authority by H. Case: (English only)

   The study presents:

   i) an account of regional policies in the United States, with the emphasis on their diversity, their limitations and the difficulties encountered, particularly in education;

   ii) a description of the Tennessee Valley Authority and its development programme and, in particular, its various activities in the vocational education sector and in non-formal education.

2. Planning and Implementing Educational Participation in the Albury-Wodonga Region (Australia) by R. Chapman and J. Burkhardt: (English only)

   The study analyses the role of education in the development of a zone based on a new town with 300,000 inhabitants. The development programme was drawn up by the Federal Government in close co-operation with the two state governments and the local communities concerned. There is a discussion of the problems arising from the creation of the infrastructures for education and from the role education should play in the development of individuals and of communities, as well as with regard to employment. Institutional mechanisms for planning, participation and the integration of education into overall planning are described in detail and the study proposes an original model for regional planning.

3. Education in Regional Development Policy in France by J. Pachot and Y. Gaudeul: (French only)

   The report shows how the centralised organisation of education has made it difficult for education to participate voluntarily

in development. It goes on to describe how a growing awareness of the problems of regional disparities has revealed the necessity of regional land development and led to reflection on the contribution which education could make to regional development policies. The development plan for the Massif Central which was first introduced in 1975 illustrates these developments. The report describes the region, its educational system and the development plan. It explains the educational orientations which were recommended and the action taken (adaptation of the educational network, assistance for school attendance, pedagogical changes and improved working conditions for teachers in rural areas).

4. The role of Education in the Development Policy of the Mountain Areas in Switzerland by E. Venturelli: (French only)

This report analyses the Swiss experience in this area, in a context of considerable decentralisation, the development of regional policies, their conception and the Confederation's investment and strategy for the Mountain areas are discussed together with the organisation of the planning and financial structures of the educational system. The socio-economic characteristics of the Mountain regions and of the supply and demand for education are analysed on the basis of three examples. This results in a number of proposals about the balance between training and employment, the role of education in social and cultural life of the regions and the implications of this for educational policy.

TECHNICAL REPORTS RELATED TO CHAPTER II

5. The Appalachian Regional Commission: Developing Education Programmes Focussed on Economic Development and Regionalism by H.E. Morse: (English only)

This report describes the activities of the Appalachian Regional Commission since its inception in 1966, together with the innovations it has introduced in education. The emphasis was on the development of education and of vocational training programmes. A large system of highly diversified institutions offering training which is closely linked to working life was created. The study looks at the results of this and in particular those concerning educational options, completing insufficient schooling and the employment of those trained.

6. Regional Policies and Education Planning and Provision in the United Kingdom. The example of Coventry and the West Midlands by Messrs. Aitken, Parton and Clark: (English only)

This report analyses regional educational planning with reference to three levels of policy decision-making: inter-regional, intra-regional and local. At the two first levels, although there is a long experience of economic planning based on employment, education has a limited role (in the Strategic Plan for Regional Development of the West Midlands, for example). At the local level (in the metropolitan zone of Coventry, for example) the District Council and the local colleges together with large industries are engaged in active educational planning based on apprenticeship, training of technicians and training of the unemployed.

7. The Relationship between Employment and Training at the Regional Level in France by J. Biret and B. Hadjadj: (French only)

Within the French context of regional development policies and overall national planning and on the basis of certain research work, the report discusses:

i) training needs at the regional level: one approach to the problem is a diagnosis (based on forecasts of training needs in two Mediterranean regions and on a comparison between employment and training at the regional level which was made when the present development plan was drawn up); the other approach centres upon inter- and intra-regional disparities which have been established on the basis of statistical indicators;

ii) an anlysis of the relationship between training and employment based on indicators or the results of research on mobility or access to industrial employment;

iii) the integration of regional systems of training and employment given the regional structure of industrial job creation and of training.

TECHNICAL REPORTS RELATED TO CHAPTER III

8. Regional Effects of Swedish Educational Planning by B. Hammarberg, F. Hedqvist, E. Holm, N. Häggström and N. Sundberg: (English only)

The context is one of changing social and economic structures and changing regional and urban structures also. Within this context the development of education, its structural reform,

the distribution of the educational network and more equitable access to education have considerably modified recruitment at every level of the system. This study describes the effects of decentralisation and the diversification of school provision on the overall demand for education and the way in which it is distributed according to social origins, social status, sex, or the distance of the school from the home. There is an analysis of the relationship between educational supply and demand and job opportunities for qualified persons on the regional and local labour markets. The direct and indirect consequences for regional employment of the creation of higher education institutions are also analysed.

9. University and its Environment: The Finnish Experience by Dr. Ari Antikainen: (English only)

This study identifies and analyses the factors which have influenced the setting up of the higher education network in the different regions. The new institutions of the 1960s and the 1970s have modified the structure of the network, the span and distribution of supply and the conditions of access for students from certain regions and from certain social groups. Regional manpower needs and the employment sectors influence the placement of graduates and the area where they decide to settle. The higher education institutions carry out research which reflects regional needs. Lastly the study points out that the effectiveness of education policies is dependent upon their adjustment to regional development.

TECHNICAL REPORTS RELATED TO CHAPTER IV

10. Regional and Local Decentralisation of Decision-Making in Education Policies in Norway by T. Hanisch: (English only)

The study analyses participation and decentralisation in decision-making in Norwegian education policies in the light of proposals by three National Commissions. In the area of higher education and adult education the report describes the mechanisms for co-ordination and participation, such as the Regional Councils and their equivalent agencies in adult education institutions.

11. The Role of Self-Government in Educational Policy at Regional Level in Yugoslavia by M. Juhas: (English only)

This study refers to the specific context of the socio-political system in Yugoslavia which is a Federation of Republics within

which local communities have considerable powers and function according to principles of self-government. The study describes the range of their powers for education, particularly at the inter-community level (regional); the reform of the education system tends to reinforce regional organisation and, as a result of further decentralisation, to contribute to self-government. The report assesses the early effects of this development.

12. Regionalisation of Education in Italy by L. Pescia: (French only)

This study analyses in turn:

i) the role and the powers of the regions in the Italian political system and, in particular, in the areas of student aid and vocational training;

ii) the recent creation of school districts and the structures for public participation in the school policies and management through the district councils;

iii) the role of the regions in planning vocational training in the light of labour market needs and of the regional economy on the basis of three interesting procedures adopted in three regions.

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